

THE JERUSALEM POST

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Shabbat Shalom FROM

40 S) PEKING

Chinese Restaurants
Glat Koshers
Exclusive

SHABAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	4:16	5:27
Tel Aviv	4:34	5:28
Hatza	4:25	5:27

Reservations:
Jerusalem: 55 Shimon Ben Shimon St., Tel. 02-525555
Tel Aviv: Nahariyeh Ave., 134 Oppenheim St., Tel. 03-521088

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Marathon talks on nurses' pay

Jerusalem Post Staff
TEL AVIV. — Representatives of the hospital unions, the government and the Histadrut were meeting last night at Histadrut headquarters here in a new attempt to reach agreement in the nurses' labour dispute.

The representatives of the sides said yesterday they hoped they would be able to come to an agreement by late last night. But they also said they expected the negotiations to be difficult.

After seven hours of talks, negotiators indicated at midnight last night they were close to a compromise on the contentious issue of number of nursing positions to be added to hospitals. They appear to have agreed that 1,500 new positions should be added over a three-year period.

Before the talks began yesterday evening, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim warned that no other union should expect wage benefits similar to those offered to the nurses.

This appeared to indicate he was showing some flexibility in the talks. In the hospitals, meanwhile, the nurses were back on duty yesterday, but the country's hospitals had still not returned to normal. Most outpatient clinics were closed, and elective care — including surgery — was not performed.

The doctors — who had learned over the past months that when hospitals filled they often had to be evacuated in the face of new nurses' strikes — refused to overburden themselves or the hospitals.

The doctors were waiting until a solution was found to the dispute before agreeing to accept everyone seeking treatment.

So the "emergency" footing remained in effect.

The nurses went back to work at 9 p.m. Wednesday. They were responding to an appeal from President Herzog to stop their latest strike — and to an impending injunction from the Jerusalem District Labour Court.



A Franciscan nun peeps through the keyhole of the door to the Monastery of Temptation above Jericho, after being refused entry by the Greek Orthodox monks inside (See story, p. 2)

(G. Feinblatt/Media Images)

Few child-care workers take first-aid courses

Children at risk

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The death of a 2½-year-old child in a Jerusalem day-care centre this week has drawn attention to the fact that few workers at such centres know how to save a choking child and that there is no law obliging them to take the appropriate first-aid course.

This week's tragedy may have been averted had the Wizo staff at the day-care centre in Jerusalem's Gilo neighbourhood taken such a course.

Adina Mazalon, who is in charge of Wizo day-care centres, told *The Jerusalem Post* that some of her staff have taken first-aid courses, but most have never learned the techniques for removing an object from the windpipe of a young child.

"But now we'll see to it that everyone learns it," she said in an anguished voice.

She said some of the teachers hit the child on the back in an attempt to dislodge the tangerine, as they should have. But she admitted they also put a finger in his mouth — something which is forbidden because it can push the object even farther down the windpipe or can cause the child to vomit, which is dangerous if he is choking.

She said that the parents of the deceased boy have another child in the same centre, and have decided to keep him there. She added that the authorities did not find the teachers had done anything "irresponsible."

None of the day-care centre staff had been trained to do the Heimlich Maneuver, a technique in which a fist is pushed into the stomach of a choking person to force out the object like a cork popping off a bottle. In many American restaurants, posters explaining the maneuver are posted in case of emergency. No requirement to do this exists in Israel.

The Health Ministry spokesman, asked about the incident by *The Post*, has asked the head of the public-service announcements committee at the

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Post investigation

Settlers in nine new sites under Peres

By GERSHOM GORENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Despite the unity government's declared policy of curtailing new settlements in the territories, it has allowed Jews to settle in at least nine new communities in the West Bank in the past two years. *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

Government and World Zionist Organization settlement officials have previously said that only four new settlements have been established under the unity coalition.

But residents and officials of five other settlements told *The Post* this week that the first settlers had arrived at those sites after the unity government was set up in September 1984.

Defence Ministry sources said this week that the five settlements were set up before the unity coalition was formed. From the government's perspective, they said, a settlement had been established if it had been budgeted by the government or if construction of houses had begun.

"There's nothing here we didn't know about," a source said.

The Post visited some of the settlements and spoke to founders of the others by telephone to confirm information received earlier in the week from Meron Benvenisti, head of the West Bank Data Base Project.

Benvenisti, the leading researcher of settlement activity in the territories, said IDF figures showed that Israelis had been living in the five sites by June of this year. But none of the settlements was listed as being populated in autumn 1984.

Benvenisti said the figures also confirmed reports that the Jewish population of the West Bank had grown from some 44,000 when Shimon Peres became premier to 60,000 today. Most of the increase has been in large towns established before 1984 near Jerusalem and the greater Tel Aviv area — Ma'aleh Adumim, Givat Ze'ev, Efrat, Ariel, Emma-nuel, Alfei Menashe and Elkana.

Reliable government sources indicated this week that the Peres government had had no power to keep settlers from moving into the five previously unpopulated sites, because construction was already underway at all of them when Peres became premier.

Two of the five are already on their way to becoming large suburbs.

- At Oranit, just over the pre-1967 border northeast of Petah Tikva, 200 families have moved into villas and duplexes since May 1985, according to a settlement committee official. Another 200 housing units are now being built.
- At Har Adar (Givat Haradad),

(Continued on back page)

Reports suggest may have been Soviet agent after war

Washington has new doubts about Waldheim

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Official reservations about Austrian President Kurt Waldheim are growing with the publication of reports that he is belatedly admitting that he did indeed take part in a 1942 Nazi massacre of Yugoslav citizens at Kozara. Earlier, Waldheim had repeatedly denied any involvement in the operation.

Attorney-General Edwin Meese yesterday said that Waldheim may be placed on the government's "watch list," which would bar his entry into the U.S.

Meese was reacting to a lengthy report in *The Washington Post* which noted that Waldheim has finally acknowledged that he participated in the operation.

The State Department spokesman said that Secretary of State George Shultz had no plans to meet with Waldheim when in Vienna next week. "He's going to be seeing his counterpart, the Austrian Foreign Minister," the spokesman said pointedly. Shultz is also due to see Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze while in Vienna.

On two earlier visits to Austria, U.S. officials said, Shultz did meet with Waldheim's predecessor as a matter of courtesy. "But I doubt whether a similar meeting with Waldheim will happen now," one U.S. official said yesterday.

The newspaper also reported that in the winter of 1947-48, Yugoslav and Soviet intelligence services attempted to blackmail Waldheim into becoming a communist agent by threatening to charge him with war crimes. At the time, Waldheim was serving as personal secretary to Austrian Foreign Minister Karl Gruber.

Quoting several former Yugoslav intelligence service officials, the *Post* said that the Soviets in early 1948 had advised the Yugoslavs that Waldheim had been recruited and asked the Yugoslavs to stop further interference in the matter.

The newspaper said that it could not establish "independently" that Waldheim had been recruited by the Soviets or the Yugoslavs. But the thrust of its front-page report was that Waldheim had in fact been compromised by the Soviets.

The report provides the most detailed and damaging evidence that he was a Soviet agent.

Waldheim's spokesman, Gerold Christian, denied that he had been recruited by the Soviets. Christian said that "Mr. Waldheim was never approached by any country in a manner implied by the question." He said that Waldheim had first learned that he had been indicted by a Yugoslav war crimes commission from news reports "at the end of March of this year." That same month he learned that his name was placed in 1948 on the UN's list of wanted war criminals.

Asked about these latest revelations, Meese said yesterday that the U.S. would not issue a decision on Waldheim "in haste," since the Austrian president, in any case, was not planning any visit to the U.S.

Waldheim's spokesman confirmed that he had served as a member of the command staff of 29 men under Gen. Friedrich von Stahl, the Nazi commander at Kozara. But the spokesman said that during the actual Kozara campaign Waldheim "was assigned as a special missions officer to the staff of the quartermaster" and "had the duties of a supply officer."

But German reports list Waldheim as later being among 34 men in the German Army singled out for meritorious service in the Kozara campaign.

The front-page reports in the *Post* were written by correspondent Dusko Doder, who spent two weeks in Yugoslavia interviewing former intelligence officials and others.

The senior Yugoslav intelligence agent in Vienna in 1947-48, Anton Kolencic, asserted that he had planned to use a secret dossier of allegations against Waldheim in a "joint" action with Soviet intelligence to recruit Waldheim. Kolencic said he had turned Waldheim's file over to Soviet intelligence agents in Vienna and that he was "absolutely certain" that the Russians had made the approach.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

U.S. officials predict: Yamani ouster may cause fall in prices

American officials yesterday predicted possible lower oil prices and a weakening of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec) following Wednesday's abrupt dismissal of Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani.

But despite the uncertainty over the future of Opec, oil prices in London and New York advanced yesterday, following earlier falls.

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In the U.S., officials said Yamani's ouster would weaken Opec and could lead to lower world oil prices.

Yamani, who had come to symbolize Saudi Arabia's financial and strategic importance within Opec, was dismissed by a royal decree issued in Riyadh.

No reason was given for the removal of Yamani, but it was thought among some oil analysts in London that the royal family may have felt that he had defended the interests of



Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani

other Opec members at the expense of Saudi Arabia.

But other speculation held that he was sacked because he had failed to take sufficient account of lower oil rates on other producers. By this theory, the last straw for Yamani came with a recent offer he reportedly made to U.S. buyers of a 50 cent per barrel discount.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Syria works with France to stop terror in Paris

PARIS. — Syrian Vice President Abdel Halim Khaddam has confirmed that Syrian and French secret services are cooperating to prevent further bombings in Paris by Middle East terrorists.

"The Syrian government has given very clear orders to its security services to cooperate with French police forces to stop those responsible for the attacks in Paris," Khaddam said on French television Wednesday night.

Khaddam did not confirm a report Wednesday in *Le Monde* saying Syria had obtained a truce from the terrorists responsible for five bombings in Paris from September 8-17 that killed 10 people and injured 162.

But his remarks, in an interview in Damascus, reinforced those made by French Interior Minister Charles Pasqua, who was quoted as saying that "real cooperation" was developing between France and Syria.

France has drawn criticism at home and abroad for its dealings with Syria, which has been accused by Britain of sponsoring an attempted bombing of an El Al plane. London broke diplomatic relations with Damascus last Friday and vainly called on its European allies to take a joint stance against Syria.

The spokesman for French Premier Jacques Chirac said yesterday that reports France had struck a truce with Lebanese terrorists were "fiction," and denied that France planned to exchange arms for Syrian help in the anti-terrorist fight.

The spokesman however did acknowledge that Damascus has been cooperating with France in an effort to end the terrorist campaign.

A group calling itself the Committee of Solidarity with Arab and Middle East Political Prisoners has claimed responsibility for the five bombings. It has demanded the release of Georges Abdallah and two other imprisoned Arab terrorists.

In Washington, the Reagan administration yesterday endorsed a proposal by American commercial airline pilots to boycott Syria and Libya.

The State Department said: "We share the concern for Syrian support for terrorist acts against civil aviation that promoted this move. We believe it is important to send a clear message to Syria to abandon its support for terrorism. These steps are part of that process."

Troopers and families mark 30th anniversary of 1956 Sinai Campaign

Paratroops invade Tel Aviv's Yarkon Park

By BENNY MORRIS
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A mighty host, perhaps over 100,000 strong, the veterans of the Mifla Pass, Ammunition Hill, The Chinese Farm, Entebbe and the refugee camps of Rasidiyah and Eilat Hivah, and their families, assembled yesterday in Tel Aviv's Yarkon Park for what was certainly the largest gathering of paratroops this country has ever seen.

Mishpat Hatzarhanim, the family of the paratroops, was meeting on the 30th anniversary of the Mifla drop to commemorate the corps' glorious past and to remember its 2,000-odd dead.

It was perhaps natural that Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy, himself a red beret, dwell long and movingly on the dead, before turning to the veterans and, then, to the corps' current conscripts. "They are with us always," he said.

Prime Minister Shamir spoke of the present and the future. "No terrorist organization," he said, "could withstand the paratroops' initiative and determination. The Jewish people believe in you."

Like an ancient host, the troopers almost all in civilian dress, mustered under red and white banners identifying "Maimon's soldiers," "Aza's soldiers," "Vost's soldiers." Nowhere were the brigade and battalion numbers displayed and only elsewhere, far away, were the brigade crests in evidence — the winged serpent, the flying arrow, the winged lion.

The families huddled by age group, sometimes by kibbutz. There seemed to be little intermingling of the paratroop generations. Memories were refreshed, shared battles, holidays; updates on employment and car models exchanged. The dead were briefly mentioned, remembered.

Later, speaking from the dais, at least one paratroop commander was to stress how the corps in recent years had changed from the largely Ashkenazi preserve in the 1950s and 1960s into a body truly representative of Israel's ethnic composition, while its system of volunteerism continued to draw upon the "elite" from each grouping. The families gathered in the park seemed to bear out this description of the "democratic" composition of the corps.

Serving officers, in their late 30s and early 40s, moved from group to group. D., now a grey-haired brigadier, was a captain in 1968-9 and his battalion's deputy OC. A brilliant career had been predicted. He survived to fulfill the promise. There were those who looked him with a touch of envy: "Had I stayed on, perhaps..."

Legendary figures, like Abraham David, and "Kacha," smiled about the children, meanwhile, scrambled over the machine gun and mortar-mounted half-tracks and armoured personnel carriers and fiddled with the TOW-launcher buttons. "Watch it," shouted a father as his six-year-old lowered the pipe-barrel onto a child's head. The machine guns rattled away bulletless as the kids eagerly tried to wear out the equipment before they reached conscription.

The women, occasionally assisted by their spouses, huddled around the snack counters, battling for food.

"Once a paratrooper, always a paratrooper," was the most prominent slogan near the bandstand where the IDF and police bands assembled.

It was almost 4 p.m. when a lone helicopter came out of the sun to the south and slowly descended towards the park. Thousands of children and adults rushed to the site where the helicopter was expected to make its drop. It passed. The crowds sighed and surged. Then the copter hovered and came on a return pass. This time it let loose a shower of sweets. The children rushed forward, some trampling on others to reach the prize. The helicopter made another dry pass. More running to and fro. Then a second drop, before flying off to the north. A lone Dakota, 7,000 feet up, slowly crept through the sky. It let out a wind-gauging dummy, and passed on. At precisely 4:30 four black dots descended from its doors, one of them the OC of the IDF paratroop school. Two opened coloured smoke-grenades to enable the crowds to follow their descent. Then four coloured free-fall chutes opened up. Slowly the four, one after another, drifted down directly onto the T.

Another four jumped out, hands linked. Then, separating, they released parachutes and smoke-grenades and dropped in earth.

Afternoon turned to evening and the crowd, by units and generations, made its way to the vast amphitheatre in the centre of the park.

Shamir: 'El Al plot could have meant war'

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — Prime Minister Shamir yesterday suggested that Israel might have gone to war against Syria if its plot last April to blow up an El Al airliner in London had succeeded.

"You can imagine that if 400 people were killed, that would be very grave," Shamir told *New York Times* columnist William Safire in a telephone interview. "Such a catastrophe could be a reason for a military confrontation."

Under the brigade and HQ crests, with red the predominant colour, the bands and VIPs and unit commanders assembled. The proceedings, like everything good in Israel, began with (unusually short) speeches.

Defence Minister Rabin and Levy stressed how the paratroops corps "gave to the IDF — not massive or sophisticated weaponry or numbers" but "spiritual values."

It stamped the IDF with its brand of camaraderie, persistence, initiative and sacrifice, said Levy.

Rabin emphasized the paratroops' contribution while carefully avoiding over-insistence on their role to the detriment, perhaps, of other corps and units.

The host of red-beretted *alufim* on the dais bore ample testimony to the corps' impress on the post-Yom Kippur War IDF, whose three chiefs-of-general-staff since 1974 have all been paratroopers and whose next CGS will almost certainly also be one of the General Staff's red berets.



Good Friends

On the occasion of Balfour Day, The Jerusalem Post is issuing a special magazine with Sunday's edition: the 16 page Israeli-British Trade and Ties Supplement. Read all about our mutual bonds of interest, from fashion to diplomacy to travel to the British kitchen table, where the Jaffa reigns. Don't miss it — the last word on the Anglo-Israeli connection, this Sunday, free with.

THE JERUSALEM POST

Alfonsin predicts 'tensions, conflicts'

Britain expands fishing rights at Falklands

BUENOS AIRES — Defence Minister Horacio Jauregui said yesterday the government suspended leave for military draftees and created a special military committee in response to Britain's expansion of fishing rights around the disputed Falkland Islands.

British Foreign Minister Geoffrey Howe on Wednesday announced his country's decision to impose a conservation zone in the rich fishing grounds around the Falklands.

Howe warned that Britain might use armed force in appropriate circumstances.

Argentinian President Raul Alfonsin has warned that the British action would "cause serious tensions and conflicts, with consequences as yet unforeseeable."

Jauregui, in a meeting with foreign reporters, said naval vessels re-

mained under orders to patrol the country's 200-mile offshore zone, which overlaps with the new Falkland fishing zone.

He added, however, that "we are not trying to provoke any incident that could cause Britain to complain of Argentine aggression."

He said he ordered the suspension of leave for conscripts, scheduled for the end of October, to keep the armed forces at a state of readiness.

The special military committee will consist of the president, Jauregui, the armed forces chief of staff and the heads of the army, navy and air force, and will advise Alfonsin on the affair.

In Moscow, Soviet officials expressed regret yesterday over Britain's move and said it would hinder the search for an Anglo-

Argentine solution to the Falklands dispute.

"We regret that Britain has taken unilateral steps that are in contradiction with decisions of the UN on the Malvinas (Falkland) Island question," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

At the same time, in a report from Buenos Aires, the official Tass news agency described the measure as "an impudent action."

After announcing the move, British officials said in London they were working on the understanding that the Soviet Union and its east European allies would respect the new 150-mile zone.

"We wanted to get an agreement which all the nations could endorse but that has gone much too slowly," he said in a radio interview.

"Some of the actions taken by

Argentina — their aggressive behaviour earlier this year against a Taiwanese vessel, for example, and their conclusion of fishing agreements in the area with the Soviet Union and other countries — have actually made it impossible for the moment to go down that multilateral road," he said.

"We would like to achieve an agreement with the backing of all the fishing nations but meantime Argentina can't complain. What we have done is absolutely consistent with international law. It was necessary for fishery protection purposes."

Announcing the decision to impose the zone, Howe told the House of Commons that anyone wishing to fish within 150 nautical miles of the South Atlantic colony would need a license starting next February 1.

British officials said they hoped

the communist countries, who fish extensively in the South Atlantic, would either apply to Britain for licenses or withdraw their fleets, when the move becomes effective.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov declined to say yesterday whether this would be the case. "The measure has only just been announced," he said.

"By this type of action, Britain is making difficult the implementation of UN resolutions which call on the British and Argentine governments to negotiate a settlement of their dispute over sovereignty of the islands," Gerasimov said.

Diplomats said the initial Soviet reaction gave no indication whether Moscow would agree to ask Britain for licenses for its fishing fleet, a move that would clearly upset Argentina. (AP, Reuters).



A British soldier uses a metal detector to find out what causes 16-year-old elephant "Rani" of a Sheffield circus to suffer from stomach pains. (AFP Telephoto)



Cokorde Istri Anggraini Widayanti was named the woman with the longest hair in Indonesia at an "Extraordinary Friends Show" held last weekend in Semarang, Central Java. She said she has not cut her hair — now 202 cm. long — since she was nine. Four attendant dwarfs hold the University of Jakarta law student's tresses. (Reuters telephoto)

Vatican: Homosexuality morally unacceptable

VATICAN CITY (Reuters). — The Vatican, in its first major statement on homosexuality for 10 years, said yesterday homosexuals should be taught their sexual practices were morally unacceptable to the Roman Catholic church.

The church's position has been relayed to all Catholic bishops by the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, the Vatican department which oversees the orthodoxy of doctrine.

The 12-page document, written by the congregation's prefect, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, and approved by Pope John Paul, followed recent Vatican disciplinary actions against two churchmen in the U.S. who were accused of lax attitudes towards homosexuality.

Ratzinger wrote that the document was necessary because in recent years there had been "an overly benign interpretation" of homosexuality, with some people calling it neutral or good.

The document restated the church's position that homosexual tendencies were not sinful but homosexual activity was and that homosexuals could take full part in church activity only if they abstained from sexual relations.

"Special concern and pastoral attention should be directed toward those who have this condition lest they be led to believe that the living out of this orientation in homosexual activity is a morally acceptable op-

tion. It is not," it said.

Current views that the Bible does not explicitly condemn homosexual activity or that its moral injunctions are no longer applicable in the modern world were "gravely erroneous."

It said that only in the heterosexual marital relationship can sexual relations be morally good. "A person engaging in homosexual behaviour therefore acts immorally," it added.

"To those someone of the same sex for one's sexual activity is to annul the rich symbolism and meaning, not to mention the goals, of the creator's design," it said.

It acknowledged that there had been great pressure on and within the church "to accept the homosexual condition as though it were not disordered and to condone homosexual activity."

These views, the document said, were "opposed to the truth."

The document said it was deplorable that homosexuals were often the object of violent malice and that the church should condemn such action whenever it occurred.

Pastoral programmes must clearly state that homosexual activity is immoral and local churches should not offer the use of church facilities for meetings of homosexual groups unless the Catholic position has been unequivocally stated, the document said.

FOREIGN NEWS IN BRIEF

Militant to be extradited

PARIS. — The Paris Court of Justice has ruled that Neo-Nazi and Palestinian militant Godfried Hepp, 29, can be extradited to Germany where he is to be charged for an assassination attempt and armed robberies.

Hepp is currently serving a six-month sentence for possession of forged passports. He was arrested at a small Paris apartment where the Lebanese terrorist group Farid (Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Front) had stored weapons and ammunition.

The gun used to kill American diplomat Charles Ray and Israeli embassy secretary Ya'akov Bar Simantov in 1982 was found in the apartment.

Seoul students defiant

SEOUL (Reuters). — About 800 South Korean student radicals armed with petrol bombs and wooden clubs kept thousands of riot police at bay for the third day yesterday.

More than 5,000 riot police massed in the grounds of Konkuk University in eastern Seoul to put psychological pressure on the youths to quit the five buildings they have occupied since Tuesday, but the students remained defiant.

They continued shouting slogans reviling the government of President Chun Doo Hwan and the Reagan administration and threatened to set themselves on fire if police used force to evict them.

Soviet Jew seeks help

PARIS. — The Soviet Jewish mathematician Victor Brailovsky has appealed to participants of the 8th International Conference on Pattern Recognition being held in Paris, to help him emigrate to Israel.

Brailovsky, 51, who had specialized in medical applications of pattern recognition, explained that since his first application for a visa in 1972, he has not been allowed to work in this field.

Clashes shut road to Beirut airport

BEIRUT (AP). — Battles between Shi'ite Muslim militiamen and Palestinians closed the main highway to Beirut airport yesterday and threatened to ignite a new round of all-out war in the capital despite outside efforts to quell the conflict.

Police said two people were injured in the intermittent machine-gun exchanges along the airport road that separates the Bourj el-Barajneh refugee camp from densely populated Shi'ite slums along the Mediterranean coast.

The new casualties raised to two killed and 10 wounded the toll from the fighting that broke out before dusk Wednesday in the capital, expanding clashes that had erupted recently in Tyre and Sidon.

The Shi'ites and their allies have been trying to prevent a resurgent Palestine Liberation Organization from regaining the influence it lost in South Lebanon and Beirut due to Israel's 1982 invasion.

Motorists screeched to a halt and passengers ducked behind pine trees along the airport highway as sniping

duels erupted at mid-morning, police said.

The road remained closed into the night, forcing travellers to take side streets to reach the airport.

Palestinians and militiamen of Amal, the main Shi'ite force led by Justice Minister Nabih Berri, accused each other of provoking the renewed hostilities around the sprawling shantytown that houses 50,000 people on the southern edge of Beirut.

The fighting threatened to rekindle the bloody camps war between Amal and Yasser Arafat's PLO that has killed more than 850 people and wounded 2,300 since May 1985, by police count.

The situation appeared cooler to the south, where neutral Sunni Muslim militiamen completed a move into buffer zones in hills east and southeast of Sidon to separate PLO and Amal fighters.

Palestinian fighters burst out of the Sidon camps Saturday and seized a string of Amal strongholds, blocking the militia's supply routes.

Shrewd negotiator for Opec Yamani — architect of Arab oil power

RIYADH (Reuters). — Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, whom the Saudi press agency said was replaced yesterday as Saudi Arabian oil minister, was for millions the embodiment of Arab oil power — the chief architect of the dramatic changes in the world's economic balance caused by the big price rises of the 1970s.

Appointed in 1962, shortly after the creation of Opec, he burst into international prominence when he masterminded the 1973 Arab oil embargo which sent prices soaring to previously unheard-of levels.

But 12 years later it was his and his

country's determination to defend a share of the world oil market against non-Opec producers which brought prices crashing down by half in the space of three months.

The shrewd and durable Yamani, as representative of the world's largest oil exporter, played a crucial role in Opec's rise. But with a strategy seen by western oil analysts as remarkably consistent, he was also a voice of moderation in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

The Opec price shocks which increased prices ten-fold in the space of seven years risked, Yamani be-

lieved, untold economic damage, a western stampede to alternative energy, cyclical oil glut and the blunting of the Arab oil weapon.

As oil conservation and constant new discoveries in other countries reduced Opec's power in the early 1980s, he was foremost in calling on its 13 members to stick to their price and output agreements and on non-Opec producers to cooperate with the cartel for the benefit of all.

But in August 1985, Saudi Arabia, by then supporting Opec's price structure almost alone, had cut its output back to a 20-year low of two million barrels per day (BPD).

With even the vastly wealthy Saudi economy feeling the strain and himself under pressure from hardliners in his own country, Yamani abruptly switched tactics.

He backed the idea of defending an Opec output ceiling of between 16 and 18 million BPD, and said Saudi Arabia would produce up to its Opec quota even at the cost of a world oil glut and a price war between producers.

It was an oft-heard refrain, but the difference was that this time Yamani meant it. In the space of three months from November 1985, prices collapsed from \$30 a barrel to below \$15.

With their economic forecasts in tatters, Opec countries hastily called an emergency conference in March 1986 to try to restore order and boost prices.

Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani was born in Taif, the Saudi summer capital, in 1930 (no exact birth date is

available), the son of an eminent Islamic judge in Mecca, where he went to school.

He studied law at Cairo University where he was exposed to the ideological ferment of the Middle East in the years just after World War II, the period of the final disintegration of European colonialism.

He considered both Marxism and the right-wing ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, finally opting, as he said later, for a philosophy of trying to change things by rational persuasion.

At New York and Harvard Universities, his law studies included problems involving multinational corporations.

Returning home and appointed a government legal adviser, he was ready at age 28 to take on the might of the U.S. oil companies: Exxon, Texaco, Standard Oil of California and Mobil. These firms, grouped in the Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco), pumped and sold Saudi Arabia's oil.

King Faisal quickly spotted his talent and made him oil minister, to negotiate eventual Saudi control of Aramco and emerge as a leading voice in the fledgling Opec of the 1960s.

As a negotiator, Yamani is known for patience and courtesy. His trimmed beard, immaculate English suits and Rolls-Royce mark him out as a man of wealth and elegance.

But he demands a respect — even deference — from his colleagues which sometimes appears to outweigh his quest for Opec unity.

Action Reconciliation-Peace Service

ארגון אות הכפרה והשלום

invites the public to two special events marking the Organization's 25th anniversary in Israel.

EXHIBITION

The opening of the exhibition "Learning from History, Consequences for Peace in the Present and Future" will take place on Sunday, November 2, 1986 at 8:00 p.m. at the Gerard Behar Center (Beit-Ha'am), Jerusalem, in the presence of Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek and a representative of the West German Embassy.

The Exhibition will be open to the public from November 2 until November 20, 4:00 — 7:00 p.m. daily except Fridays.

CONCERT

In cooperation with "Maon Tlallim", an institution devoted to working with the mentally retarded, a concert will be held on Monday, November 3, 1986 at 8:00 p.m. at the Gerard Behar Center, 11 Rehov Beza'el, Jerusalem.

The Program includes:

- Chava Alberstein
- Yiddish Folk songs — featuring ESPE from West Germany
- A choir from Maon Tlallim

Handicrafts produced at Maon Tlallim, offered for sale during intermission.

Admission is free. All donations will go towards supporting the work of Maon Tlallim.

Action Reconciliation Peace Service, 28 Rehov Ein Gedi, Jerusalem 93383, Tel. (02) 711587.

Shaare Zedek Medical Center, Jerusalem

extends a hearty welcome to its "Golden Founders"

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World Union for Progressive Judaism

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

- Monday, November 3 2 p.m. Opening Convocation and tour of site
- Tuesday, November 4 9 a.m. 9:30 a.m. 11:30 a.m. HUC-JIR Meeting of the Board of Governors Seminar for non-Board Members on "The Year in Israel Experience" Dedication Ceremonies of the S. Zalman and Ayala Abramov Library, Skirball Museum, Skirball Center for Biblical and Archaeological Research Speakers: H.E. Thomas R. Pickering, The Ambassador of the United States, The Honorable Simcha Dinitz, MK Academic Convocation Conferring of Doctor of Humane Letters upon Mayor Teddy Kollek Address: The Honorable Shimon Peres, Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs Symposium on "Religion and State in Israel" Speakers: Minister Ya'acov Tsaur Shulamit Aloni, MK Rabbi Menahem Hacohen, MK Yitzhak Mayer Ehud Olmert, MK Rabbi Mordechai Rotam
- Wednesday, November 5 9 a.m. 2:30 p.m. Thursday, November 6 9 a.m. 11:30 a.m. Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism "Our Program for the Future" Dedication Ceremony "Beit Shmuel" Youth Center Hostel in memory of Samuel Ungersleider Speakers: Arye Dulzin, Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive Avraham Harman, Chancellor, The Hebrew University Ordination Ceremony HUC Israel Rabbinic Program
- Friday, November 7 5:30 p.m. 7 p.m. Gala Banquet Guest Speaker: The Honorable Yitzhak Shamir Prime Minister of Israel
- Saturday, November 8 10 a.m. Kabbalat Shabbat Services Shabbat Eve Dinner Shabbat Morning Services and Kiddush

All events will take place at the HUC Campus unless otherwise stated. By invitation only

'Time is overdue' for Israeli Arabs to serve in gov't

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter
NAZARETH. — The controversy provoked by the nomination of Alignment MK Abdel Wahab Darousha for the post of a deputy minister has highlighted a political anomaly that has long been a bone of contention among Israel's Arab population.

They complain that although they comprise 17 per cent of the population, there are no Arabs in senior positions in the government or civil service.

Among moderate Arab leaders in particular there is a growing feeling that the time is overdue to rectify the matter — if only to counter the charges of Arab extremists who cite this lack of representation as an example of discrimination and inequality.

Why, they ask, are there no Arabs on the staff of Israeli embassies where they could contribute in negotiations with representatives of Arab countries and as examples, to the rest of the world, of Jewish-Arab co-existence?

Darousha himself believes that integration of the Arab community into the national and international affairs of the state is essential.

Putting aside political affiliations and his own candidacy, Darousha maintains that Arab representation in the higher levels of government and the civil service is in the interests of the State.

"Integration of this nature will help improve relations and generate more cooperation," said Darousha in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*.

"If people feel that they have a share in the decision-making process through their representative, they will be more inclined to regard Israel as their country which, in turn, will increase their loyalty to the state."

There is no other country in the democratic world in which a minority totalling 17 per cent of the population does not have representation at the cabinet level.

"Israel must set a good example to the rest of the world and her Arab neighbours in particular of how a minority community is integrated into the state."

"This has to be done first, because a state that does not have peace at

home will not succeed in achieving a real and lasting peace with neighbouring countries," he said.

Darousha's political opponents in the Arab sector concur with his sentiments. They are sceptical, however, about the amount of influence one man would have on government policies.

"From a public-relations point of view the appointment of an Arab to the post of deputy minister would be a positive step," said Ahmed Abu Asba, head of the Jatt local council in Galilee.

"It would be particularly good if this was in the Education Ministry because of the problems in this sphere in the Arab sector. I would also hope that there would be an Arab minister in the future."

Asba was pessimistic, however, about Darousha's prospects, despite the fact that several Arabs have held senior government posts in the past, including the late Abdul Aziz Zuabi who served as deputy health minister.

"It is not something new for an Arab to be a member of the government, but this has not changed the policies," he said.

"The fact that there is a special (Jewish) minister for Arab affairs shows that inequality and injustice exists," added Asba, a member of Mapam.

Hard-liners, among them members of the Communist Party, take such arguments a step further.

"The question of whether we have an Arab deputy minister is not the central issue for the majority of the Arab population," said Acre resident Jamal Mussa.

Mussa, representative of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Hadash) on the Histadrut's Central Committee, maintained that equality had to begin at the grassroots level.

There are 3,000 buildings which are under threat of demolition in the Arab sector; Arab fishermen are fighting for their livelihoods in Jaffa port; Arab local councils are threatening to strike in support of their demands for the same budgets as comparable Jewish authorities; there is a memorial for the victims of the Kafr Kassem massacre, but the government says nothing — these are some of the issues," he said.



(Left) An Armoured Corps first-sergeant stands beside the memorial flame at this week's ceremony in Latrun. At right, a view of Masada — symbol of Jewish heroism. (N. Ben Ami/Modia; David Rubinger)

Symbolic shift: Latrun for Masada

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Masada has fallen again, this time as the symbol-laden site of the swearing-in ceremony of recruits to the Armoured Corps. For the first time since the Masada tradition began after the Six Day War, the corps' swearing-in ceremony was held this month at Latrun.

Corps officials say the change in venue, which will be permanent, was motivated by purely pragmatic reasons — the desire to provide a convenient site in the centre of the country which family and friends of the recruits can easily reach. The change, however, may be viewed by some as symbolic as Masada itself.

That awesome desert cliff at the edge of the Dead Sea has occupied a deep if ambiguous place in Israeli symbolism. For the past 19 years, Armoured Corps personnel upon completion of their training have marched towards it through the desert for two days and two nights. On the second night, they climbed the "snake path" to the top bearing torches, a sight most will likely remember the rest of their lives.

They spent the third day atop Masada listening to lectures on Jewish history which place

their own role — as part of the backbone of the defence forces of the reborn Jewish state — in clear perspective.

After changing clothes, the recruits would form parade formation for the torchlight swearing-in ceremony in which each received a weapon and a Bible.

The recruits were of course retold the story of the last stand of Masada's defenders in 73 C.E. — the stubborn defence of the position by a small number of Jewish holdouts against the mightiest military machine of the ancient world, and their final choice of suicide rather than captivity. For all its message of heroism and striving for freedom, however, Masada also projected other messages less comfortable to deal with, such as the resolution of problems by suicide.

Much more in the Jewish tradition is banging one's head against a stone wall, which is what happened at Latrun in 1948.

Israel's first armoured battles were fought here as the fledgling Israeli army launched three massive attacks at the Latrun police fortress occupied by the Arab Legion to open the road to Jerusalem.

The attacks failed and hundreds of men were killed, many of them new immigrants taken

straight from Haifa port to the battlefield. In the second attack, armoured cars reached the gates of the fortress but were driven off.

"We learn not just from tactical victories," said Aluf (res) Moshe Peled, a former Armoured Corps commander in an interview yesterday. "At Latrun, newly recruited soldiers were given the order to attack, and they attacked and attacked again. That is Latrun's symbolism."

For the past eight years, the police fortress has been the focus of another Armoured Corps event — the annual celebration of Corps Day coinciding with the anniversary of the Sinai Campaign in which armour's decisive role in the Israeli ground forces first became apparent. The building is already surrounded by a permanent display of tanks and other armoured vehicles used by Israel and its enemies in past wars.

For all the pragmatism behind the move from Masada to Latrun, the Armoured Corps clearly believes that it has acquired enough history of its own during this short but intensely lived generation to provide models and motivation to its recruits without relying on ancient history.

In this, the corps may be fulfilling its usual role as a breakthrough force — this time in the broader arena of national mystique.

Where all the fish have gone

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The sardine fishermen are not catching any sardines, as there haven't been any this season. But fishermen are not giving up the sea just because the sardines have.

They are catching other varieties of small fish "in fairly good quantities" and have found a ready alternate market for them in the Gaza Strip, according to Arye Tsur, secretary of the Fishermen's Union.

Gaza has saved the day, or rather the night, for the men who do the

fishing. Their small-fry catches are fetching about NIS 2 per kilo in Gaza, which puts the men well ahead of the official price of 40 to 90 agorot that the fish canneries pay for sardines.

Tsur noted that in Acre and the neighbouring Arab villages where fish are popular, the cheap, small fish are no longer in demand, and the Jewish market has long since turned up its nose at them.

The 20 boats of the trawling fleet are also doing "very well" at the

moment, with good catches fetching high prices. The boats are out almost non-stop, reaping in the harvest.

Meanwhile the union's grand plans to improve the fleet with eight new trawlers built by the Israel Shipyard and government aid, has fallen through due to a lack of investors.

Only one group of fishermen has opted for a new trawler, but as Israel Shipyard did not consider it worthwhile to build a single vessel rather than a series of ships, it is being ordered from an Italian shipyard.

Costly dish can supply viewers with infinite TV

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — Starting next year Israelis will have a choice of TV channels galore, though at a price, Oded Dovrat, general manager of the Amps Satellite Communications Company, told the Haifa Rotary Club yesterday.

The Communications Ministry will shortly issue tenders for a third channel to operate 16 hours daily screening films, sports and entertainment on a subscription basis. The broadcasts will come from a western communications satellite from which the ministry has leased three channels, one for TV and two for communication.

By the end of next year a new and smaller dish-antenna, to cost only half of the \$5,000 price of the present market dishes will bring 15 channels from TV stations all over the world straight into viewers' homes, Dovrat said.

In five years, a national cable TV service is to start operating, replacing the pirate stations which have an estimated annual turnover of \$30-\$40 million "black" untaxed money from viewers' fees. Dovrat said the government will issue tenders for cable TV which is to charge viewers about \$20 monthly plus a \$250 link-up fee. It too will offer a wide choice of broadcasts, Dovrat said.

Religious journalists come out of the closet

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The media is well-represented by observant Jews and many of them are in positions of authority. But when it comes to bringing the viewpoint of religious Jewry before the public, many religious journalists "hide their kippot under their pens."

This is the view of Arye Frenkel, who has organized a course to train observant aspirants in journalism at the Ariel Institute in Jerusalem. Among observant and especially ultra-Orthodox circles, he said, the press has a very bad image of being controlled by the left and being "anti-religious."

One reason for this, he noted, is that most observant journalists tend to view journalism as a job rather than a mission. Secular journalists, on the other hand, are not ashamed to express their viewpoints in the media, he said.

The course is extremely popular. "Every Orthodox Jew who can hold a pen thinks he's a potential journalist," says Frenkel, who for many years served as spokesman of the Religious Affairs Ministry and who now acts as an assistant to MK Avraham Shapira. Though the course costs over \$600, there were 125 applicants for some 30 places.

The students, who range in viewpoints from Natorai Karta to National Religious to hassidim, will be spending four hours, twice a week, to gain a mixture of professional training and religious guidance.

They will delve into such questions as whether an observant new editor can ask reporters to work on Shabbat, whether an advertising manager can accept advertisements which are in bad taste and the perhaps more difficult problems of *lashon hara* (gossip). This year they are surveying the entire field, including print journalism, public relations and spokespersonship, radio, television and cinema. Next year, the students will specialize in areas of their interest.

Knesset debate of the week

Water wrangle

By DVORAH GETZLER
Post Knesset Reporter

The urban population may be paying sharply increased water bills if a plea made this week in the Knesset by MK Yitzhak Artzi (Alignment) goes unheeded.

Artzi is angry about a new water regulation that requires cities to collect a special water rate to cover the cost of renovations to the country's outdated water pipe network.

The municipalities, he noted, had refused to implement the order. They claim it is not their job to act as tax collector for what is in essence a national obligation. In any case, domestic water rates are due to be raised considerably.

Artzi was speaking during a Knesset debate on the dire state of the water economy, especially after the drought of last winter.

The debate divided the plenum sharply, not according to political affiliation, but along the lines of town versus country.

At only point, there was a chorus from the farmers, kibbutz and moshav members alike: "It's the nation's agriculture; it belongs to all of us, not just the farmers."

The strongest attack from the urban sector came from the Likud's Gideon Gadot, who was specially incensed about the amount of water used by cotton farmers. "We're not exporting cotton, we're exporting water," he insisted.

Gadot's attack on the farmers caused Charlie Biton (Democratic Front for Peace and Equality) to interject: "What do you want, should we all rely on the national lottery to make us money?" (Gadot heads Mifal Hapayis, the state lottery.)

Though the debate took place before Wednesday's gloomy forecasts of a possible drought year, members did address themselves seriously to urging that the government exploit all ways not just to save water, but to create new sources.

More attention should be paid to cloud-seeding, desalination, recycling of waste and sewage, and prospecting for water, members said. Artzi urged that potential water sources be mapped nationally, as are possible sites for oil drilling.

Shinui's Mordechai Virshubski urged that long-range planning and overall responsibility for water not be left in the hands of the national water council as presently constituted. Instead it should be transferred

red to either the Energy and Infrastructure Ministry, or the Economic and Planning Ministry.

This, he said, would remove it from a body that is dominated by agriculturalists and has too partisan an approach. He also scored excessive subsidizing of water.

Replying to the debate, Deputy Agriculture Minister Avraham Katz-Oz regretted that power and authority were often given without the financial resources to give them meaning. The water commissioner had not been equipped with "teeth" to punish those who polluted the nation's water, nor did the local authorities have enough money to treat pollutant wastes.

Money was at the root of the water problem, Katz-Oz said. But Gadot, he said, had counted into the costs of water all the costs of infrastructure. This was not fair and was a specifically Israeli phenomenon. Water infrastructure should be a national responsibility, he said.

Israeli farmers, he said, paid more heavily for water than in any other country. His ministry reckoned that if infrastructure costs were deducted, water to the agricultural sector should cost 14-15 U.S. cents per cubic metre. Farmers were charged 10 cents. In countries which compete agriculturally with Israel, the costs ranged from 1.5 cents to 5 cents per cu.m.

Katz-Oz also dismissed Gadot's criticism of the cotton farmers. Water they used was "marginal" water, he said, which had little other use.

True, the price of cotton on the world markets had declined recently, but so had those of all commodities, he said. Israel was paying less for those commodities — it imports. Thus the drop in the price of cotton was balanced out by the cheaper imports.

Cotton had been a valuable export, the pride of Israeli agriculture and would yet come into its own again, Katz-Oz predicted. The investment had been enormous and was not to be thrown away.

The Treasury, said Katz-Oz, kept a tight rein on water investment and was holding up plans to recycle the immense quantities of water assigned for domestic use. A plan that would yield 40-70 million cu.m. is pending because of budgetary shortages.

He said that the agricultural sector was the only one that had carried out the water cuts demanded last year.

Your car is stolen and you're the prime suspect

By YORAM GAZIT
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. — Stepping out of my flat Wednesday morning, I looked around and noticed that something was missing: my car.

I checked frantically around the area thinking, hoping, that I had parked it somewhere else and had simply forgotten. But no, it was gone.

After checking in vain with the police lot where towed cars are taken, I went on to the Ramat Gan police station.

It was a busy day. People crowded around the desk sergeant, who seemed about to have a nervous breakdown. He was arguing with a plainclothes detective, who had just brought in a suspect to be locked up.

"There's no more room," the desk sergeant said plaintively. The grin on the suspect's face turned into a smile. He must have been thinking that it was his lucky day, and that they would let him go.

His detective escort was not going to be so compliant: "They're doing renovations at Abu Kabir, at Kfar Sava and Herzliya. What do you want me to do with him, take him home?"

While absorbed in this conversation, and forgetting my own problems for a moment, I was interrupted by a man in ultra-Orthodox garb, who asked me if I was in time. I hadn't noticed any line, just people sitting around waiting.

I went back to the man at the desk and asked him a second time where I could complain about car theft. "I already told you," he replied angrily. "Sit quietly and they'll call you."

"Does anyone know I'm here?" I dared to ask. "Yes," he replied stiffly.

But there was no reason to believe him. I sneaked into the room where he had pointed to a before, but I was nabbed by a grim-looking sergeant.

"What do you want?"

"To complain about a car theft."

"Can't you see that there are prisoners being interrogated here now?"

I had seen no one, but the way he stared at me made me nod my head in agreement and start to walk out. At that point there was a message on my beeper: "Call Etti from the police spokesman's office."

The sergeant called out as I took off in search of a phone: "Where are you going? Didn't you want to complain about a car theft?"

Yesterday morning I got a call from the police telling me that my car had been found, and urging me to come quickly to the Netanya police station.

Eager to get my car back, I got there as quickly as I could. But the police had other things in mind. I soon realized that I had been summoned there to be questioned about the involvement of my car in a robbery in Even Yehuda.

It was Etti's name suddenly squawking out of the beeper again that saved my neck.

"Are you a policeman?" my interrogator asked.

"A police reporter," I answered.

"I thought your name was familiar to me," she said. "It's good I found out you're a reporter. It saved you a lot of trouble. Border Police interrupted a burglary of a supermarket last night in Even Yehuda. The burglars managed to escape through the fields. You were the prime suspect."

Seamen still unable to return to Israel

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The two Israeli seamen who were acquitted of drug-smuggling by an Alexandria court are still unable to return home.

The Egyptian authorities have not yet allowed Amram Shloush and Shalom Peretz, crew members of the Zim freighter m.s. Camelia, to leave the country.

They have been held in Egypt since their arrest nearly a year ago, and were due to return immediately after Rosh Hashana.

While no official reason for the delay has been given, red tape and bureaucracy appear to be responsible.

The two have held a protest outside the Israeli Embassy in Cairo demanding action, but so far to no avail.

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Testing ground for a Revisionist

'Jabotinsky was a liberal in the Zionist movement. He was the great liberal,' says Moshe Arens, whose tasks in the new government include dealing with Israel's minor-

ities. Unruffled by the prospect that his views will meet opposition from Israel's Arabs, Arens explains his outlook to Yehuda Litani and Elaine Fletcher

FIVE MINUTES into the interview with Moshe Arens in his East Jerusalem office earlier this week, the new minister in charge of coordinating Israeli Arab affairs already had made three revealing statements about his approach to the job.

- His office would stay put — despite whatever political discomfort that might cause some Israeli Arab visitors.
- His job was not to deal with Israeli Arabs but with Israel's "minority populations" — a phrase expressing the fact that Israel's 730,000-strong minority community is a heterogeneous mix of Arabs, Beduin, Circassians and Druse.
- One of his first priorities would be to institute a programme of "affirmative action" to boost the standing of the Druse community, which contributes their share to the state but receives less than that in housing, jobs and government services, according to Arens.

"Affirmative action," Arens said, explaining the phrase coined for the American programmes which grew of the black civil rights struggle, "is when you lean over backwards to give more than the average" — to right previous discrimination.

Arens's comments suggest how his approach to the Israeli Arab issue will likely reflect a curious mixture of the man himself — tough, action-oriented and motivated by long-cherished ideology, and yet open to the tempering of personal contacts and associations, as evident in his sensitivity towards the position of Israel's Druse. And with his hardline reputation, Arens also is a man whose actual approach to Israeli Arabs may contain some surprises.

WHILE THE outgoing Arab affairs coordinator, Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman, grew up among Arabs in Haifa's mixed community and even speaks some Arabic, the American-born Arens had

no such youthful personal encounters.

Rather, his first contact with Arabs, as Arens himself describes it, came "looking through the sights of a rifle" in the 1950s when he was a founding member of the Mevo Betar moshav, in the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv corridor.

"I would say that my views are shaped by an outlook, not dependent on a feeling of personal sympathy," said Arens, who like Weizman is a former defence minister. "That outlook, however, is not purely a militaristic one, but includes off-stated notions about the value of law and democracy, of equal rights and equal responsibilities under that law."

They are attitudes undoubtedly shaped by Arens's own background — in a pluralistic American society — and his early identification with the stream of Zionism championed by Ze'ev Jabotinsky, which embraced both a "greater Eretz Yisrael" ideal and the principles of Western liberalism.

"Jabotinsky was a liberal in the Zionist movement. He was the great liberal. That's what I learned from growing up in the movement," said Arens, who still calls the man "my great hero," and ad-libbs one of Jabotinsky's well-known lines of Hebrew poetry with obvious affection: "There he will derive contentment and happiness, the son of the Nazareth, the son of the Arab and my son."

ARENS'S IDEOLOGICAL convictions carry a different tint when he reacts to the oft-suggested idea that Israeli Arab youths be required to serve in an alternative programme of national service. Arens doesn't like the ring of the word "alternative."

"Eventually, what we're striving for is equality," he said, explaining that, he favours encouraging more voluntary service by Israeli Arabs in the regular IDF along the lines of a

programme he began for Beduin while defence minister.

"No ethnic group will ever have a feeling of true partnership until they have the experience of serving this country," Arens said.

And he insisted that his idea is not a pipe-dream, noting, "People of German descent fought in the U.S. Army against Germany in World War II."

In the Lebanon War, the Israeli Druse faced a similar situation "and passed the test with flying colours," Arens said.

While Arens acknowledges that there are no Israeli Arabs he could call intimates, that's not the case in the Druse community, with which he says he developed ties of friendship and admiration while defence minister.

He recalled a visit to the home of a Druse family which had lost a son during the Lebanon War.

"I was tremendously upset," Arens recounted. "Given the contribution they made, they hadn't gotten a square deal."

His experiences with the Druse, in part, have shaped his current belief that some sort of a special "affirmative action" programme should be launched for them.

And what about a similar thrust for Israeli Arabs? Still the professor, he hedges the question turning his answer into an analysis of the current problem.

"On the one hand, you have Druse and Circassians who carry the full burden of citizenship, and do not get the full privileges and full opportunities of citizenship," Arens said. "On the other hand, you have Israeli Arabs who do not carry a full burden, and who also don't enjoy full benefits of citizenship."

And in the middle you have the Beduin.

ARENS DOES not seem to worry about how such statements about "equal rights with equal obligations"

will ring in the ears of Israeli Arab leaders, just as he does not seem overly concerned about recent Israeli Arab protestations over his replacing Weizman.

"People who know the way democracy works wouldn't dream of sending a telegram to a new Republican president saying he should keep on a Democratic secretary of state," Arens said, again drawing on an American analogy.

"The rotation was a similar situation, in some ways, and people under the misconception that Weizman would stay don't understand how the thing works," Arens added, suggesting tongue-in-cheek that if Israeli Arabs were so upset about losing Weizman as an advocate, then they should all "vote Labour" in the next election.

He likewise is unruffled by the concerns raised by his opposition to the return of Galilee's controversial Area Nine military firing zone to Arab cultivation — a position some Arab leaders took as a precursor of things to come.

Arens notes that his opposition to the decision was first and foremost over the way it was made.

"The decision was not taken in an orderly manner," he said, stating that a "collection of ministers, rather than a formally-appointed group took the step."

Picking apart the issue in its typically methodical way, he said that there were two issues at stake: private landowners' rights and the law restricting private use of an area set aside for the military.

Arens said he understood from the military that Arab landowners had continued to cultivate land that was off-limits, and the military's release of the property was in fact a "submission to a violation of the law."

If indeed that's the case, Arens said, "it is signalling that if you fight the government and break the law, you'll get what you want."



"And if this created a lot of goodwill," it's also goodwill smacking of political patronage, he added.

IN A similar vein, Arens criticizes Weizman and the Labour leadership for issuing a flurry of other pro-Israeli Arab recommendations and decisions just prior to the rotation. Those included the granting of "front-line" status and accompanying income tax breaks to several Arab villages in Galilee, he said, and a report recommending a plan be drawn up to build a new settlement for the families of Arab villagers from Irit and Biram, evacuated by the IDF in November 1948.

"These handouts during the last few weeks of the Peres stewardship were not right," Arens said. "They created the impression that these things were being done by the Labour Party, and not by the government."

But again, Arens's opposition may rest more on political considerations than on substance. He said he shares an interest in the fate of residents from Irit and Biram, forbidden from returning to their villages and recalled a visit he made to the one village site with Ze'ev Jabotinsky's son, Eri.

"Eri... was very upset about the people of Biram being thrown out," Arens said, noting that former prime minister Menachem Begin also favoured allowing the residents of the two villages to return.

ON ISSUES like these, Arens, too, has something to gain — both politically and ideologically — from taking a supportive stance.

As Israeli Arab leaders are all well aware, it is now up to Arens to prove that Likud, like Labour, can be sensitive to their needs and aspirations — and deserving of their votes. On a more ideological plane, the Israeli Arab community is undoubtedly a Herutnik like Arens — a testing ground for a broader notion

that Israel can live with a large Arab minority in a Zionist, but still democratic, state.

"It's clear that the policy towards the Arabs in Israel is one of the most important subjects we face today," Arens said.

"I believe the road to peace goes through Nazereth and Umm el-Fahm before it goes through Amman and Cairo," he said, and then alluded again to his favourite Zionist:

"Even to Jabotinsky it was obvious that there would be a large minority population [in Israel]. If you can arrive at a point where they feel like an integral part of the society, then you've gone a long way towards normalizing relations with surrounding Arab nations."

"And if you don't, and the Israeli Arab population feels constantly alienated, then you're in trouble. And I don't think we'll be successful in arriving at peace, regardless of the agreements we sign."

Herut's quest for legitimacy

Arye Naor

accompanied Jabotinsky on a visit to Poland, a stone was thrown at his mentor but hit him instead. "It hit me above the elbow but I still carry its pain in my heart," said Begin.

Half-a-century later when prime minister, he proposed to the cabinet to appoint a state commission of inquiry into the Arianoff affair. One does not necessarily have to accept the Revisionists' point of view in order to understand this commission's existential meaning. For the Revisionists, the events of 1933 marked the opening of an era of persecution, denunciation and oppression. "O God, Thou hast selected us for grief," wrote Jabotinsky in one of his poems, perhaps his gloomiest. Several generations of Betar kids have sung it since to a sorrowful Russian melody.

THE delegitimization of Jabotinsky's movement was increased when the *seizon* against the Irgun Zvai Leumi underground organization was declared in 1946 by the Yishuv's establishment. When the state was finally established, Ben-Gurion heightened this process by stating that he was ready to form a cabinet with the participation of all political parties "except for Herut and the

Communists." This was accepted by the political community as a fact of life which could never change because of all that had happened between the two sides since 1933.

Even in Menachem Begin's party, some voices were raised from time to time complaining that no future could be expected for a party composed of almost excommunicated outsiders.

Nevertheless Begin did not fall into despair. He used his own political isolation to declare his party as the only one real alternative to the government in power while slowly building a legitimate image for the opposition — something which was not self-evident in the Israeli society of the Fifties. Begin was prepared to wait for a proper opportunity to gain the necessary legitimacy his party needed from the government.

This came in 1964. Several months after the resignation of Ben-Gurion, Begin was received by Levi Eshkol, the new prime minister, whom he asked for a cabinet decision to bring Jabotinsky's remains to Israel. (In his last will Jabotinsky forbade his reburial in Eretz Yisrael unless so ordered by "the government of the Jewish State.") In the past, Ben-Gurion had turned down requests to fulfil Jabotinsky's last will on the grounds that "we need live, not dead Jews." Eshkol, however, agreed to Begin's request.



Menachem Begin: victory in 1977 meant more than power (David Rubinger)

"Operation Ze'ev Jabotinsky coming back to the homeland," as it was called in Herut, marked a turning point in the political history of the country. A new political process started with Jabotinsky's magnificent funeral, a process of decreasing tension from which Begin very wisely took political advantage.

A decade earlier he had proposed to the General Zionists (who later became the Liberal party) to form a joint parliamentary bloc, but they hesitated. Now, in the light of the

legitimacy granted to Herut by no other than Eshkol, the new prime minister and Labour Party leader, the Liberals finally accepted the Herut offer, thus strengthening Begin's new image and the Gahal bloc as a whole.

Begin has never forgotten the contribution of the Liberals to the political legitimacy of his movement. The Gahal agreement, signed in 1965, was kept for almost 20 years. It was only after Begin's resignation that the Herut forced the Liberals to consent to a reduction in the proportion of their Knesset seats.

THE next milestone was passed two years later. On the eve of the Six Day War in 1967, Eshkol agreed to appoint two Gahal ministers without portfolios to his war cabinet. With Begin sworn in as a cabinet member, a big step forward had been made on the road to full legitimacy for "the man sitting next to MK Bader," as Ben-Gurion used to refer to him.

Together with Begin, of course, the Herut Party also was granted legitimacy in the eyes of the Labour establishment, and from the point of view of domestic politics, this was the major consequence of the formation of the first government of

national unity, which lasted 1,100 days under two prime ministers — Eshkol and Golda Meir who succeeded him. One may doubt whether the 1977 political upheaval would have been feasible without the Gahal participation 10 years earlier in those two cabinets headed by Labour premiers.

Begin's coming to power in 1977 was a victory over the forces of delegitimization who had acted against his party for almost 50 years. It was emphasized by Israel's 30th anniversary celebrations one year later. Many of the national events equalized the status of the three underground organizations who had struggled against the British Mandate, thus contributing to the Herut legitimization process. Official state ceremonies which later marked Jabotinsky's centennial added to this process, the peak of which was the establishment of the commission of inquiry into the Arianoff affair.

BUT this process had still not been completed until the rotation of the premiership. Only now, when the Labour Party participates in Yitzhak Shamir's cabinet and Labour leaders

serve under the Herut leader's premiership, is the circle finally closed. Only with the confidence given by Knesset votes and by the act of serving as ministers under the premiership of the former Lehi (Stern group) commander, is the historical process of granting legitimacy to Jabotinsky's movement finished. This is the final reckoning of the political consequences of the 1977 upheaval.

When the Labour Knesset faction delegation recommended the nomination of Herut's leader to replace their own leader as prime minister to President Chaim Herzog, the historical barriers dividing the two major parties were removed; and the bars have been completely let down by Peres's service as Shamir's deputy. The Labour party secretary-general, MK Uzi Baram realized it when, following the presidential consultations he said, "For us it is a special day of historical significance."

But not for them alone. From his retirement home in Jerusalem, Menachem Begin can watch this process with deep, genuine satisfaction; his life-time battle is finally over.

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Keep Israel Beautiful

Close attention to words

Tora Today / Pinhas H. Peli

"IN THE beginning God created the heaven and the earth" — is not the only translation of the opening verse of the Hebrew Bible. There are many other translations, some of which are based upon erudite comprehension of biblical Hebrew and suggestive interpretations of the classical commentaries. Thus, the New Jewish Publication Society version: "When God began to create the heaven and the earth..." (based on Rashi's commentary), or Moffat's: "When God began to form the universe." These and some others may indeed sound better than the old King James; they may even be more "correct." But they do not convey the grandeur and the majesty nor the very meticulously worded message of the Hebrew original.

The beginning of the universe also marks the beginning of Tora, and vice versa. *Bereshit*, one Hebrew word, translated "in the beginning," has resounded throughout the ages as more than just a description of the

time when God created. It signified a breakthrough from nothingness into being. To medieval Jewish philosophers it marked the creation of time itself. "In the beginning God created," they interpreted as: "the beginning (itself) God created."

Others read: "In the beginning God." Before anything else: God, as this is indeed God's first appearance to our mortal eyes. He is not introduced to us in mythological tales, not even in any theological terms. We are not told anything about His personal "biography" (as in most other ancient creation accounts), nor about His divine attributes. In the original Hebrew the verb "created" precedes the word God. *Bereshit bara Elohim*. It is in the act of creation that we first encounter God. Forever after we shall always see Him as "the one who renews creation every day" (from the daily liturgy).

FROM THE FIRST word to the

last, every word of Tora must be counted and given close attention. A medieval Hebrew book offers no less than 913 interpretations for the one word *bereshit* as many as the total amount of its numerical value (*bet* — 2; *resh* — 200; *alef* — 1; *shin* — 300; *yod* — 10; *zar* — 400). Tora specifies both "heaven" and "earth," not resorting to one word describing the universe, not because it was "unaware of one such a unifying concept" as some commentators suggest, but because "heaven" and "earth" allude to two specific aspects of creation, not the least among them being the idea that the "heavenly" and the "earthly" are both equally God's creations, as are "good" and "evil." Tora does not recognize Gnostic dualism of any kind. It tells us that not only when ascending to "heaven" can we engage in spirituality and come close to the Divine, but also right here, on the face of the earth, sanctifying our day-by-day "earthly" and mundane pursuits.

Two thousand years ago in Jerusalem the schools of Beit Hillel and Beit Shammai debated whether the heavens were created first and then

the earth (following Gen. 1:1) or, as the school of Hillel would have it: the earth first and then the heavens (following the order in Gen. 2:4). The Sages decided however that "heaven and earth were created simultaneously" (TB Hagiga 12a). That is to say, the heavenly or the spiritual and the earthly or the material do not take precedence one over the other. The world that God gave us to live in is composed of both the material and the spiritual.

Yet, the Psalmist (115:6) offers a division: "The heavens are the heavens of the Lord and the earth he gave to humans." It is here on the earth that human history has to be enacted. The story beginning with the creation of the heaven and the earth culminates with the creation of Adam, the first human being, male and female. In the Jewish reading of the Bible, all of creation leads to this point. Rav Saadya Gaon (892-942), the foremost medieval Jewish philosopher, puts it succinctly in the opening statement of the ninth chapter of his classic *Emunot v'dot* (Beliefs and Opinions): "The heaven and the earth and everything that is between

them were created only for the sake of Man."

THE BIBLICAL account of creation heralds a message: the world as we know it is not a tragic or a comic random accident. Human beings are not senselessly "thrown" into the world, as some philosophies would have us believe. Both world and humans are here because God wanted us here; before we came into being we were, so to speak, in His vision. Being "a vision" of God lends enormous dignity to our being.

The ultimate concept in Greek philosophy is the idea of cosmos, of order; the first teaching in the Bible is the idea of creation. Translated into eternal principles, says Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, cosmos means fate, while creation means freedom. The essential lesson of creation is not the idea that the universe was created at a particular moment in time. It is, as Maimonides explains, the idea that the universe did not come about due to some necessary chain of causation, but as a result of God's free will. It is this divine freedom which was im-

printed in humans created in "the divine image."

Free choice, the ability of humans to make choices, or if you will, the inevitability of having to choose, is the foundation of the rest of Tora. Being created in "the image of God" means freedom and not determinism. Heredity and environment do certainly have their impact on our actions, but preceding them is God's "Let us make humans in our own image and in our likeness" (Gen. 1:26). There is no freedom however without responsibility. "responsibility." When one is able and ready to stand up and respond when questioned about his actions. Acting without taking into consideration the eventual defence of the action is acting out of licentiousness, callousness or at best ignorance, certainly not out of freedom.

That is a theme that we would follow through the rest of the Hebrew Bible. The "sin" (and it is not called thus in the story) of Adam in eating of the forbidden fruit, is not as much in the act of disobedience itself, but in not assuming responsibility for it. Had Adam and Eve acted responsibly and responded honestly when confronted by the Lord's questioning, the world we live in would certainly have been altogether different. The challenge

posed in the prohibition to eat from the tree was nothing but an exercise in freedom and responsibility.

THESE IDEAS are not a "scientific" account of creation; meaning rather than information is the purpose of the creation story in Genesis. That is why there was never a war within Judaism between "creationism" and any given scientific hypothesis from Darwinism or neo-Darwinism, with or without "quantum jumps," to the big or small "bang." Nor is the "date" of the creation of the world one of the basic principles of Jewish belief. Contrary to what some may think, one is not a "heretic" for not believing that the "age" of the universe is exactly 5,747 years.

Tora never tried to substitute for scientific theories as to "how" the world was created. It did not matter very much to ascertain what "means" the Almighty used to create the world, as long as we establish the fact expressed in the verse of Tora: "In the beginning God created." What really matters is the meaning inherent in a God-created world.

The Tora reading for this week is *Bereshit* (Genesis 1:1-6:9). Rabbi Peli is Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

'This is the Time' — people under pressure

Teleview / Philip Gillon

THERE ARE many species, such as bees, ants and wolves, that, like *Homo sapiens*, function most efficiently in groups for purposes of survival. But man, as far as I know, is the only creature that forms such groups for the purposes of self-destruction. And we are the only species that invents moral codes to provide a framework for living, and then abrogates those codes in fits of madness afflicting the herd.

These profound reflections were inspired by two extremely important, moving and engrossing interviews on *This is the Time*. These talks were devoted to the riddles of how people should behave under extraordinary conditions, when all the ethical ideas built up since childhood provide no guidance whatsoever — if anything, they are confusing and misleading.

One example was of a woman saving her family from the Gestapo by surrendering one daughter to them. The other was of a massacre in cold blood of Israeli Arab women, children, old men and helpless, inoffensive workers committed by Israeli border police on the evening that Israel launched the Sinai Campaign.

Jewish, and her mother, a well-known writer, was half-Jewish. Cordelia described herself as being Jewish by reason of two choices. One choice was made for her by Hitler, the second choice she made voluntarily.

Because she had three Jewish grandparents, she was a Jew according to the Nuremberg laws, while her mother, stepfather and three half-sisters were not. This made her a great danger to the family — the link to her for them could mean all the penalties that Jewishness involved at the time. So her mother obtained a Spanish passport for Cordelia.

Then 14, Cordelia had been raised as a Catholic. When she applied for a visa to go to Spain, the Gestapo sent her. By threatening to charge the mother with high treason, the Gestapo forced Cordelia to sign a document admitting that she was still a German citizen, subject to the Nuremberg laws. She was then dispatched with other Jews on a transport, sent first to Theresienstadt, and from there to Auschwitz. Her mother and stepfather saw her off at the train. They gave her a cross to keep.

Matti Golias, handling the program, because Ram Eylon was on holiday, asked whether she did not blame her mother, then or later, for being prepared to sacrifice her so as to save the others. She rejected such a thought with great dignity, insist-

ing "I had no choice. My mother had no choice. Nobody had a choice. I cannot say how I would react as a mother if placed in a similar situation. You are asking the wrong questions. What was wrong was the creation of a system that subjected her to having to make such a choice."

SHE MET her mother again after the war, when Cordelia was already married and the mother of a child. "We couldn't talk," she said. "I was like somebody in a bubble. She, I suppose had guilt feelings. Still, I remember that in the morning I would sneak into her bed. The direct animal feeling was there."

Golias asked Cordelia if she would like to see Mengele captured and brought to Israel for trial. She rejected this question as another wrong one. "Mengele is not the issue," she asserted. "Something happened to the world at Auschwitz. The world cracked. That's the issue."

I was reminded of Antony's comment, "Blood and destruction shall be so in use, and dreadful objects so familiar, that mothers shall but smile when they behold their infants quarter'd with the hands of war."

She was tremendously impressive, and personally, I think she is right. It is irrelevant how her mother acted, or should have acted, or how anybody else facing a similar impossible dilemma would act. There is only one question — what went wrong with mankind that brought all those horrors like the Gestapo and Auschwitz into existence?

There is an obvious, slick answer: that there is something wrong with the German nation, they have some terrible affliction of the soul that made them devote all their immense resources of imagination, creation and organization to the sick problem of how to exterminate every single one of six million Jews. As Eichmann pointed out at his trial, the difficulties were immense, but the Germans overcame them.

UNFORTUNATELY, subsequent history has made it clear that the Germans were not *sui generis*, except perhaps in their exceptional efficiency as exterminators of other human beings. We have seen massacre after massacre, with the civilized world apparently helpless to intervene.

I cannot say whether the juxtaposition of Cordelia on the same programme with Abdullah Nimr-Bader of *Kafr Kassem* was deliberate or accidental, but the effect was certainly horrifying — just as she described how the Gestapo looked to a 14-year-old girl, so he enabled us to identify with an 11-year-old boy watching Jewish border police systematically shoot down 49 helpless and harmless Arab citizens, 15 of them women and 11 of them children.

The killers were not *sui generis* Germans. They were Jews, and members of an elite fighting corps.

Apologists will point out that the massacre was repudiated with horror by the nation, and that the perpetrators were brought to trial. Judge

Binyamin Halevi inflicted severe sentences — 17 years on Major Shmuel Malinski, 11 years on Lieutenant de Haan, and lesser sentences on the lower ranking men.

Within three years, Nimr-Bader pointed out, all these convicted Jewish killers were released, after receiving pardons. From hindsight, with knowledge of the pardons granted by President Herzog to the Shin Bet men and the Jewish terrorists, it would appear that in the Fifties, too, Jews killing Arabs was regarded on high as a minor aberration compared to the crime of Arabs killing Jews, whatever judges might say and despite whatever sentences they handed down.

But Nimr-Bader was not saying that double standards exist in Israel, he was implying the possibility that something far more sinister took place — that Malinski acted on orders from somebody very high up, perhaps the chief of general staff, Moshe Dayan.

Such a possibility was dismissed as preposterous by Brigadier-General Issachar Shalom, Malinski's superior officer at the time in question. Shalom himself was completely exonerated of any complicity in the crime. It is clear that he had not given Malinski orders to massacre any Arabs, but after the newly-imposed curfew of 5 p.m., about which villagers knew nothing. (There had been a previous curfew of 11 p.m.)

It has been suggested recently that in 1948 and 1949 Israeli troops tried to "persuade" or compel Arabs to

flee across the borders. It is known that Deir Yassin precipitated a mass flight. Although the build-up on the Jordanian frontier was a bluff aimed at putting Nasser off his guard when the attack was launched against Egypt, it is perhaps theoretically possible that somebody on high had the diabolical thought that killing a few villagers would start another panicked stampede.

Nimr-Bader seems to have a point when he asks for a judicial commission of inquiry into the political background to the massacre, except that we are very tired of commissions. Remember the one about who killed Arlosoroff? He is certainly in the right when he wonders why no Israeli leader has ever visited the village to commiserate with the survivors on their annual *Kafr Kassem* day.

THE THIRD interview on this very good programme was with Avshalom ("Avsha") Adan and Monni Moraz, two paratroopers who participated in the battle for the Mifla Pass in 1956. It is curious that they were given no specific orders or detailed instructions, apart from general directives to head towards the setting sun and to cut off a large part of the Egyptian army in Sinai by taking the pass.

Their descriptions of the fighting, sometimes hand-to-hand combat, were very vivid. The courage of the paratroopers at Mifla has entered deservedly into Israeli legend. The Sinai Campaign, like the Six Day

War, inspired a world-wide belief in the justice of Israel's cause. Despite the collusion with the French and the British, most people in the Western world accepted that this war had been forced upon us by Nasser.

Then came the Lebanon War to blot our copybook. A pity. But at least that debacle has made the war-mongers more chary about preaching the glories of war, and the young men more reluctant to go into battle unless certain that there is no alternative.

WE SAW the British becoming similarly disillusioned in this week's episode of *End of Empire*. Men were dying like flies to maintain the British hold on, of all places, Aden.

During World War II, I happened to spend a week on a troopship in Aden port. British troops whom we met in bars told us that Aden was known to them as "the ash-hole of the British empire." Yet they went on dying for it quite cheerfully for many years thereafter.

It was at Aden that a Jewish South African friend and I suddenly realized what it meant to be Jews. We were sitting drinking beer, and chatting in English, while we were having our shoes cleaned by a little Arab-seeming bootblack. One of us must have interpreted a Jewish expression into our talk. The boy looked up and said in broken English, "You Jews? Me Jew too?"

I like to think that he was brought here in Operation Magic Carpet, and that all goes well with him.



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The assembly will take place on Saturday evening, the 29th of Tishri (November 1), at 7:30 p.m., at Hyatt Park, near the old Knesset building (King George St., next to Hamashbir), Jerusalem, with the participation of Government Ministers, Members of Knesset and various public figures.

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The countdown begins this week

Beverlee Black

WE'VE COME a long way since *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund was established 37 years ago. It was started in 1948 by Post editor Helen Rossi, in order to provide a bit of Hanukkah joy to the children living in transit camps.

Today, in launching the 38th annual drive, we are hoping to present a new toy to the 15,000 children in government institutions and foster homes.

We also hope to present the several hundred children who will reach bar- or bat-mitzva age this year with a watch to commemorate this special occasion in their lives.

In recent years, the Toy Fund has been called upon to fill new needs, apart from the traditional commitment to children who are wards of the state. Daily we receive requests from social workers and heads of institutions asking for financial aid, special equipment for handicapped children, therapeutic toy libraries to teach through play, supplies and equipment for volunteer dental clinics and much more.

Our countdown to Hanukkah begins this week, with only seven weeks to go. Please help us prove to these children that there are people who care and who want to give them a reason to be happy.

Eight years ago the Tsfoia Fund was set up as an offshoot of *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund to help wards of the state take their first steps into the adult world. The late Dr. Sofia Rogolsky, who guided the Toy Fund for 30 years, saw the need for this fund long before it was started. It provides youngsters with stipends, marital grants, basic

household necessities, small tools for earning a living and the first few months' rent after a youth leaves an institution or the Army. The young people helped by this fund are those who have nowhere else to turn. Often we cannot do as much as we would like, but our thick file of thank-you letters shows that when help is sorely needed, even a small grant can help an individual to help himself.

"FORSAKE ME NOT"

OUR Forsake Me Not Campaign has gotten off to a fine start, but now that winter is approaching, funds have to be found to ensure that the elderly will be kept warm during the months of cold and stormy weather ahead and that other services such as dental care, transport to and from health centres and hot meals are continued. We must raise more money to meet the growing needs of the aged.

Please send your cheques today to help the less fortunate to *The Jerusalem Post* Forsake Me Not Campaign. Be sure to send separate cheques for each fund.

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NIS 400 To the health and long life of my children, Deborah, Rachel, Mazi and Barak and their families — David Frankel, Haifa.

NIS 300 To the health and long life of Fanny de Mayo Rissman, Jacqueline's mother, and to the health and long life of their children Daniel and David — Jacqueline and David Frankel, Haifa.

NIS 50 In the name of Lucia and Benjamin Herrmann, Stockholm.

NIS 40 Hannah Weil, Tel Aviv.

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NIS 25 Esther Podolski, Petah Tikva. In honour of my little Maya, born to Tami and Eddie Tel — Mrs. Ruth Balestra, Hadera. From a grand-

mother in Haifa. Renate and Yitzhak Uman, Haifa.

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DM 160 Anonymous, Frankfurt, West Germany.

SFR 300 In honour of our grandchildren, Tali and Hadas, Giv'at Ze'ev — Dr. and Mrs. Edward Koenig, Geneva, Switzerland.

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Sfr260	Sfr260
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FORSAKE ME NOT

NIS 1,000 Dora and Joe Babin, Beit Sheshem.

NIS 300 In memory of my beloved husband, Dr. Abraham Eliezer, Tel Aviv.

Given to me by my friends on my 80th birthday — Heinrich Scheiber, Ramat Gan.

NIS 250 With best wishes to Mr. Ernest Schneider on his birthday — Hanna Lustig, Nelly Reich, Alice Weisberg, Edith and Emil van Helden, and Paula and Michael Paig.

NIS 200 "H. and R. London".

NIS 200 Solly Klipsch, Stryon, Anonymous, Jerusalem. Anonymous, Jerusalem. Anonymous, Tel Aviv. Ute Herz, Haifa. Heinz Gotsky, Haifa.

NIS 150 Mimi, Brauch-Borowski, France. Martin Rubins, Rishon LeZion. In memory of my family who perished in the Holocaust — Martha Fedak, Tel Aviv. Charles W. Bernstein, Jerusalem.

NIS 100 Sussie Cohen, Tel Aviv. To celebrate the 80th birthday of Alex Levine of Net Afsak, Tel Aviv, which took place on October 20th — Sarah and Philip Fox, Ramat Hasharon. Anonymous, Ramat Gan. In memory of David and Roy Lerman, Jacob and Malvina Lerman — Miriam and Amnon Roan, Tel Aviv. In memory of Thora Brown — Emanuel Brown, Zehava, Tel Aviv. Henri and Stephanie Michael, Tel Aviv. In memory of Daniel de Mayo — Jacqueline and David Frankel. In memory of Maximilian Frankel — David Frankel. In memory of Ruth Frankel — David Frankel. Ruth Levenberg, Kiryat Sevivim. In memory of my parents, Morris and Jennie West — Sarah Isaac, Jerusalem. "The Bridge Girls".

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NIS 54 Meir Kahan, Jerusalem. In memory of Yoni S. Louis — Anonymous, Jerusalem. For the welfare of my entire family — Anonymous, Kiryat Sevivim. In memory of my dear parents, Meir and Sarah, Kiryat Sevivim, Tel Aviv.

NIS 50 In memory of my mother Margaret Herrmann — Shoshana Herrmann, Ramat Gan. Mr. and Mrs. Seymour Ribick, Detroit, MI. In fond memory of our respective parents — Anonymous, Noeh Karon and Rebecca and Daniel Kruger — Etta and Herbert Kruger, Netanya. Fela Kleinman, Haifa. In memory of my 90th birthday — Allen Eshel, Kiryat Sevivim. "Never accepted medical fee — Dr. W. Massad, Haifa".

NIS 100 In loving memory of my son, Prof. Daniel Duman — Abe and Judy Duman, Jerusalem. In memory of my beloved husband, father and grandfather, Rabbi Prof. Israel Abraham, and in memory of our dear nanny Lily Jeffries — Ethel Abraham, Rosalind and Meir, Jerusalem, Yanki, Noa, and Yarnel Reizen, Jerusalem. Benjamin C. Colney, Western Australia. Rachel and Haim Alexander, Jerusalem. Irvy Anuly, Anonymous. Edith Kovetz, Tel Aviv. Ludwig Borstein, Tel Aviv.

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NIS 30 Esther Podolski, Petah Tikva. Paul Harnam, Arlington, VA. For Louis Wynn of Cape Town, South Africa on his 90th birthday on 31.10.86 — his children Renee and Moshe, Meron, Ramat Gan. Susan and Moshe Srebnik, Tel Aviv. Natfali Hollander, Jerusalem.

NIS 25 Tzvi and Renate Uman, Haifa. Anonymous, Rehovot. Katharina Freund, Arie.

NIS 20 In memory of all those of my family that have passed on — J.N.S., Tel Aviv. Mrs. Semah Hershkovitz, Giv'at Ze'ev. In honour of my dear friend's 80th birthday Greta Schenker — Lora Jacoby, Jerusalem. Anonymous, Tel Aviv. Sufa Blumenthal, Haifa.

NIS 18 Chana Fintz, Kiryat Vitha. In loving memory of Mrs. F. Schmidt — Gila Shavit, Tel Aviv. Happy Birthday, Rosemary — Love, Mom. In memory of Louis Reutlinger and Ariel Reutlinger — from the Botkechits, Jerusalem.

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\$25 In honour of our Israeli grandchildren, Sharon, Eran and Karen Lee — Gerald and Hilda Jaffe, Verona, NJ. In memory of my parents — Esther Holzer, Beersheva. E.W. and Helen Woodman, New York.

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	\$106
	DM85
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هكذا من الأصل

Liver transplants in accordance with Halacha

Rabbi Shlomo Goren speaks out on Israel's first liver transplants.

THE Ministry of Health's announcement of the first liver transplant, carried out in Rambam Hospital in Haifa, was welcomed by all concerned with health and medicine in Israel. The transplant is a credit to the standard of Israeli medicine. Approximately two hours before the start of the first operation, some time after midnight, I received a telephone call from the assistant to the minister of health who informed me that a liver transplant was going to be performed. He wanted to know what the halachic ruling was on the issue. I offered my congratulations on the act of saving human life in

able chance that the procedure in question could effect a complete cure in the patient. The author of the *Shvut Ya'akov*, a collection of responsa, went even further. He said that in the case of a dangerously ill person judged to be within one or two days of death but who might be cured by one more method of treatment recommended by physicians, the treatment ought to be carried out, even if the patient dies within one or two hours in the event that it does not succeed. The author of *Shvut Ya'akov* was asked whether fear for "temporary life" did not justify doing nothing. His response was that if it was at all possible that a complete cure could be effected by means of the treatment in question, there need be no fears for the patient's "temporary life."

According to the standards laid down in hospitals in the U.S., where the surgeon at the Rambam Hospital received his training, the chances of success are better than 80 per cent. Hence, the fear of cutting short the "temporary life" of a critically ill patient need not stand in the way and the operation ought to be carried out.



Israel without recourse to the organs of non-Jews and without involving the families concerned in enormous expenditure.

In my conversation with the minister's assistant, I stipulated three conditions. First, that the removal of the liver from the donor should be carried out only after the death of the donor had been determined according to Halacha. The second condition was that the chances of a successful outcome to the operation should be better than 50 per cent since there would then be sufficient basis for putting the patient's life at further risk, bearing in mind that his chances of survival without the transplant were, in any case, very slim. I also asked that the operating team should have the consent of the donor's family, though this is not an invariable condition where the saving of life is concerned.

Regarding the first and primary condition - establishing the donor's death according to Halacha - the minister's assistant questioned me about the point at which death is halachically determined to have taken place. My answer was that it is when the brain, including the brain stem (medulla oblongata), is dead and when this condition is deemed irreversible. Cessation of breathing is considered death from a halachic standpoint since the breathing centre is located in the brain stem, death of the brain constitutes the point of death according to Halacha. The minister's assistant replied that if this was the case, all the conditions for the liver transplant at the Rambam Hospital had been met. I therefore wished them success and a speedy recovery for the patient.

My halachic opinion on liver transplants was published some two months before the first operation took place in Israel. Our central concern is with the saving of human life in the case of a gravely ill patient whose life depends on the transplant, and in the absence of which, he has no real chances of survival. Hence his condition cannot be defined as other than "temporary life."

Where an experimental medical procedure is involved, Halacha lays down that "no apprehensions pertain regarding temporary life," as it says in the tractate *Avoda Zara*. The great 19th century halachic authority, the Hatam Sofer, permits carrying out an experimental procedure on a dangerously ill person, even when the procedure may be at the expense of the "temporary life" of the patient, if there exists a reason-

TO THE surprise of many, the chief rabbinates vehemently opposed the liver transplant. They went so far as to say that with regard to the donor, the transplant violated the prohibition against taking life. To my astonishment, the representative of the committee of the chief rabbinate, which is studying the issue, made certain observations that are completely opposed to Halacha in this instance. In light of the extraordinary, and incorrect declaration of Sephardi Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu that the liver transplant op-



eration bordered on murder, it seems appropriate to address the problem according to halachic sources.

The primary difficulty in liver and heart transplants is the determination of the moment of death according to Halacha. In order to ensure the success of a transplant operation, the organ must be removed from the donor's body while it is in a medically fit condition and occasionally before the absolute cessation of the heartbeat.

Does there exist in Halacha a dividing line between life and death? Is the transition between life and death sharp and instantaneous, or is it a slow, continuous process gradually comprising all the bodily organs? If the former, does the determination of death entail the death of the brain or the heart? Since the chances of survival of all liver patients depend on a solution to this problem, extreme caution is required in order not to fail the patient, on the one hand, nor the donor, on the other. I am convinced that it is within the capacity of Halacha, which is a teaching of life, to provide a clear answer to this problem.

A *baraita* (oral law excluded from the Mishna) in tractate *Yoma* discusses the determination of the dividing line between life and death. The



Rabbi Shlomo Goren

(Lisa Pleskow)

baraita turns on a Mishna which states "Whenever on the Sabbath or Yom Kippur, there is suspicion that someone is trapped under a mound or debris, one must examine the debris. If a body is found, how far is one to search? As far down as the nose." Rashi comments: "If there is no sign of vitality in the nose and if there is no exhalation, then he is certainly dead and may be left. Others say the search should continue until the heart. This Halacha was inferred from the passage "everything which has breath in its nostrils," which locates human vitality in the breath of the nostrils.

The text goes on to state that if the ruins were to be dismantled on the Sabbath, uncovering the head of the victim, and it is established that he is not breathing, there is no need to violate the Sabbath by clearing the debris any further as his death can be presumed. Maimonides rules in the same way in *Hilchot Shabbat*, from which we may learn that cessation of breathing through the nostrils constitutes the point of death according to Halacha.

From a medical standpoint there are three stages in death:

- Death of the brain cells including the root, as cessation of cerebral activity as evidenced by cessation of transmission of reflexes and a straight line on the EEG, does not in itself constitute proof of total death of the brain, since the breathing centre is located in the medulla. Hence, it is possible to speak of death of the brain only when all the brain cells, including the medulla, are in an irreversible condition, i.e., when there has been no supply of oxygenated blood to the brain for at least seven to eight minutes. This is the critical period for reactivation of the brain. Then and only then may the brain be considered dead and all its cells in an irreversible condition.

- The second stage of death is death of the heart, through cessation of heartbeat. Here, too, the period of time involved is crucial. If the critical period - 10 minutes or more - has passed, then the condition of the patient is deemed irreversible and he is considered dead.



point of death. Hence it follows that since the breathing centre is located in the medulla, death of the brain constitutes death of the individual even though the heart may continue to beat.

A DISTINCTION is to be made here between the heart as a functional and as a biological organ. The heart can be said to be functional when it pumps oxygenated blood round the body, and especially to the brain. The superiority of the brain consists in the fact that identity is dependent on the brain, not the heart, despite the heart's importance for human life and its association with human qualities, both good and bad, in the Bible.

The recipient of a heart transplant does not undergo a personality change, psychologically, emotionally or cognitively. This has been established from experience with hundreds of heart transplant patients all over the world. Biologically and medically, the heart is merely a pump for supplying oxygenated blood from the lungs to the heart and to the rest of the organs and limbs. The moment the heart ceases to discharge this function it ceases being a heart, even though it is still beating. This non-functional activity is not a factor in keeping the person alive but is likened in the Talmud to "the lizard's tail which continues to twitch after its severance from the lizard's body." The heart continues to beat following death of the brain in the same manner. The brain, unlike the heart, is not a mechanical organ but carries all the qualities and individuality of the human personality. Hence, halachically, the brain is the centre of life and its death, not that of the heart, entails the death of the individual.

The Hatam Sofer writes in the work *Yoreh Dea*, that physicians of

the day claimed that there was no known dividing line between life and death other than the manifest decomposition of the flesh. The Hatam Sofer rejects this opinion categorically, stating: "When the Tora says 'If a man has committed a sin worthy of death and he is put to death... his body shall not remain all night upon the tree.' Here we have the distinction between life and death. Moses received the distinction between life and death as part of the Tora from Sinai."

Following Maimonides's discussion in *Guide of the Perplexed* on resuscitating the widow's son, where it says, "and he was so gravely ill that there was no breath left in him" (11 Kings), the Hatam Sofer concludes: "If a person lies like an inanimate stone, with no pulse and not breathing, we have none other than the words of our holy Tora that he is dead."

It follows that we require three conditions for determining death: 1) the person should lie like an inanimate stone with no sign of movement; 2) absence of pulse; 3) absence of breathing. From the straightforward halachic standpoint laid down in the Talmud, Maimonides and the Shulhan Aruch, and emphasized by the Hatam Sofer, there is no room for further qualifications. Furthermore, the first two conditions are not essential as we have learned from the instance of the person trapped under debris.

the Sabbath. In the same way most halachic authorities are of the opinion that one may desecrate the Sabbath for someone who is dying. In matters of life and death one does not have to follow majority opinion. The text "and you shall live by them" is interpreted as meaning that human life cannot be endangered by observing the precepts of the Tora. There are many halachic authorities who permit following minority opinion and breaking the Sabbath in order to save a Jewish soul, even on the basis of a remote possibility.

SINCE WE have it in our power to save the life of a mortally ill person through a transplant operation, and in addition, the donor's condition is such that according to Halacha he is on the point of expiring, when his breathing does in fact stop and cessation of activity in all the brain cells, including the medulla, has been ascertained, the stringent view is not to be adopted. Stringency in this case



would be tantamount to taking licence with the life of the patient awaiting the transplant, as it is written in the Tora: "Do not stand by while your fellow human's blood is being shed." It is laid down in the Shulhan Aruch that the Tora has given authority to the physician to heal. It is a positive precept and a matter of saving life. Hence, if the physician fails to proceed, it is as though he were shedding blood. Liver transplants, therefore, ought not to be delayed on the basis of non-halachic apprehensions. In conclusion, once the critical period following absence of supply of oxygenated blood to the brain is terminated, the operation may be carried out.

This, in my opinion, is the Halacha that emerges in all its clarity from this question, and which has within it the capacity to prove before all mankind that the passage "and you shall live by them" is brought to full realization in theory and in fact.

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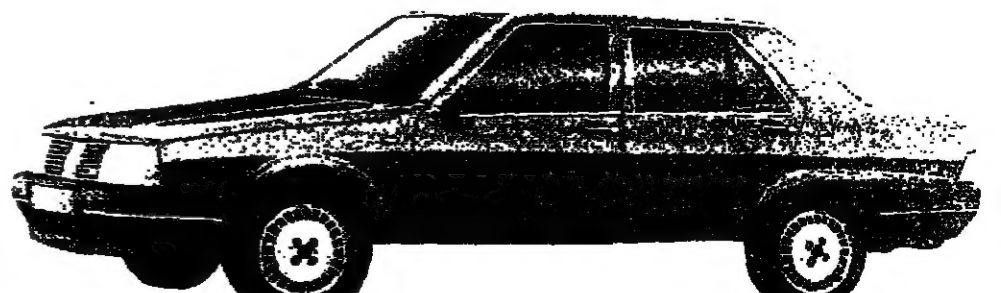
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Walking out in 1950

The day the nurses won

Marlin Levin

(This report to the United Press was written on July 14, 1950. Levin was then the news agency's Jerusalem correspondent and a desk editor of The Jerusalem Post.)

ISRAEL'S small band of nurses - numbering not many more than 1,000 - recently stood up against the government, the all-powerful Histadrut Labour Federation, overwhelming press and public opinion and won.

This country's nurses, like those in most other countries, are among the most poorly-paid of all professional groups. Some with long years of experience earn no more than \$150 monthly and work eight hours both day and night, six days a week.

For several years they have complained of their low wages and working conditions, but nothing much was done about them.

Recently, the army called up a number of nurses from various government and private hospitals. That put an extra work-load on the already understaffed nursing cadres, and their patience broke. They walked out.

IT WAS Israel's first strike of nurses. That incurred the wrath of the government, the hospitals, the public, and the press and the Labour Federation maintained that the strike was illegal and that unless the nurses returned to work they would be expelled from the union.

The nurses were alone in their fight, except for the physicians and their patients. Doctors refused to perform operations or care for any hospital sick unless the nurses agreed to work. In all urgent cases, operations were carried out.

Patients who could be released from hospitals were sent home. In one Hadassah hospital in Jerusalem, one-third of the beds were emptied. Maternity wards and children's wards were not affected.

Oddly, patients supported the nurses. In one hospital they signed a petition stating that unless the management gave in to the nurses they, the patients, would declare a hunger strike. The nurses persuaded them to drop this threat.

Those who remained in hospital and could stand assisted in cleaning the rooms, making beds and serving meals. Skeleton staffs of nurses continued to treat the seriously ill, but no new cases were accepted except in life-or-death emergencies.

FOR FIVE days the nurses held out in a strike that overshadowed world events on front pages of the daily papers. Then the authorities agreed to the nurses' wage demands - amounting to increases of about 25 per cent.

But the sisters-in-white also demanded better work conditions. Their demands:

- (1) All nurses over the age of 48 would be forbidden to work more than a seven-hour day.
- (2) During summer, all nurses are

to work no more than a seven-hour day and a six-hour night shift.

The government and the management of the private hospitals agreed to the first, but stated that because of the shortage of nurses they could not agree to the second.

The nurses stuck to their guns. For years they have had to suffer physically-hard working conditions at low pay. During Israel's War of Independence they served at the front and underwent dangers equivalent to those experienced by regular soldiers.

Their argument was that the responsibilities of nurses have always been great and their remuneration small. Emergencies and shortages were liable to continue for some time. If not now, when? They made their stand.

AS THE STRIKE went into the sixth day, the Histadrut caved in. They agreed to accept the nurses' demands and to negotiate them with the hospitals immediately if the nurses went back to work.

Although the nurses considered their victory "partial," they went back to work immediately. At first considered charlatans, by the end of the walkout the nurses were seen as heroines for having been able to stand up against formidable opposition and win.

Perhaps the nurses' strongest arguing point in the negotiations now underway will be that unless conditions are improved, fewer women will consider nursing as a profession.



IT WAS about midway through the conference, The Suez Crisis: A Retrospective, 1956-86, held this week in Beersheba and Sde Boker with a cast of distinguished historians and other participants, that the brilliant British historian, Robert Rhodes James, seemed to cry out: "Wait a minute." The spectre of controversy suddenly appeared, and some life at last was breathed into the proceedings.

Earlier, President Chaim Herzog, had described the long chronology of depredations against Israel, and spoke of the campaign's brilliance and wondrous achievements; IDF Chief of General Staff Moshe Levy had expounded theory rather than recalling blood and guts experience; and Major-General (Res.) Meir Amit, OC Operations in 1956, had spoken of the "Tower of Babel" atmosphere and the mutual suspicions and poor coordination, despite which the IDF pulled off its brilliant coup.

And then came James, a Conservative MP and junior minister (in charge of higher education) who has just published the "authorized" biography of Sir Anthony Eden, the prime minister brought down by Suez. James, while not denying the significance of the IDF's achievement, delicately chastised the previous Israeli speakers for forgetting that the RAF had begun pounding the Egyptian air force bases from Day Two, assuring Israeli air supremacy over Sinai and precipitating Nasser's withdrawal order to his troops in the peninsula. Israel's victory had not been assured by the IDF alone and had not occurred in a vacuum, as the Israeli speakers implied. Errors were made "not only by the British, the Americans, the French and the Egyptians," said James. Only 14 of Israel's 37 Mystere jets were serviceable during the campaign, he said. The IDF was then by no means "the flawless instrument" depicted.

And, to cap it off, Professor Shmuel Galai, of Ben-Gurion University, the moderator of the session, who conceded that he was not an historian of the war, let drop that as "a junior officer" in 1956, he had opposed the campaign and that he still held to this dissenting opinion. At last, the 200 or so participants many from France, Britain and the U.S., got an inkling that there had been some doubting Thomases back in 1956 and that there are some in

(Left) An Israel Defence Forces entertainment group gets some laughs. At right, Egyptian prisoners of war captured in Sinai.

Suez: What was it about?

BENNY MORRIS

Israel today who, looking back, continue to question what it was all about or for. Ambassador Ben-Natan rushed to the microphone and, giving vent to the outrage of government and consensus, demanded that Galai "explain" himself. Galai stood his ground but refrained from explication. Perhaps he meant that Israel must limit itself to fighting when there is no option, and should not indulge in "wars of choice," and that the circumstances of 1956 did not necessitate going to war.

Herzog, in the opening speech of the conference, enumerated Israel's reasons for going to war — the threat of the massive Eastern Bloc arms supply to Egypt, Nasser's blockade of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Eilat to Israeli shipping (effectively cutting Israel off from Africa and Asia) and the fedayeen incursions from the Gaza Strip and Jordan, which in 1955 alone, he said, caused 260 Israeli casualties.

The war, said Herzog, was a "watershed," transforming Israel's position in the world. Previously regarded as "weak," the victory made Israel "strategically" significant, launching the country's "honeymoon" with the U.S. It began "to be considered an ally of value" by the U.S. And it gave the IDF experience, preparing it for 1967.

Amit stressed "the 11 years of crucial and useful (peace)" as the war's main achievement, and noted that it was the first major test of the IDF's reserve-based structure.

Neither speaker related to the Sinai Campaign as part of a unified Anglo-French-Israeli war except insofar as Amit designated the international context as a complication that hampered Israeli planning and actions. (Amit, indeed, criticized the IDF's "faulty employment of our air force" while ignoring the decisive facts that French Super Mystere squadrons protected Israeli air space, freeing the IAF for ground support roles in Sinai, and that the RAF bombing of the Egyptian airfields knocked out the IAF's potential foe from Day Two).

From the other side, Colonel J.

Sellers, of the British Army's Staff College at Camberley, reinforcing the "Rashomon effect," managed to deliver a complete paper on the evolution of the Anglo-French invasion plan and on its implementation without almost any mention of the Israeli thrust across Sinai that preceded it.

FROM THE first planning stages, the basic divide between the British political echelon and the military regarding the objectives of the operation loomed large. That dichotomy was to fatally undermine successful implementation come November. The Egypt Committee, the five senior ministers formulating policy on Suez, in July defined Britain's "ultimate purpose" as placing the canal under "international control" and its "immediate aim" as toppling the Nasser government. But both main British military commanders, Mountbatten and Montgomery, at least retrospectively, and General Stockwell did not conceive of toppling Nasser as a realistic war aim.

Moreover, according to Sellers, the three "allies" had divergent perspectives and concerns, resulting in somewhat divergent objectives. Israel wished at least to reopen the Straits of Tiran, destroy the newly-equipped Egyptian army before it had properly absorbed its sophisticated weaponry and end the fedayeen raids from Gaza. France wanted to topple Nasser and end Egyptian support for the Algerian rebels. The British, or at least some of them, wanted to topple Nasser and all wanted to reoccupy the Canal Zone but, given British affinities and alliances in the Middle East, feared to be associated with Israel or to openly espouse Nasser's deposition.

British and French cooperation during the operation left something to be desired. The complexity of the situation and the alternating war aims led to seven changes of plan between July and November, and to five postponements of D-Day. Initially, the plan was to take Port Said. Then it was to take Alexan-

dria. Then Cairo. Then, Port Said and the canal and possibly Cairo. Hamilcar (or Amilcar) gave way to Musketeer, and Musketeer to Musketeer Revise, Musketeer Revise to Omelette.

Until the 12th hour, Stockwell was kept in the dark about Israel's role and participation, bedeviling British military planning and possibly performance. "If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?" asked Sellers, quoting I Corinthians.

The French military historian, General André Martin, attributed the failure of the operation to the dissociation between the military operations — which he called "brilliant" — and the political circumstances, aims and developments. Martin believes that political success might have been achieved had the military been instructed by the political echelon to emulate the Israelis and launch a "speedy and bold" thrust, occupying the entire Canal Zone before international political pressures came effectively into play. The slowness of the advance in and south of Port Said, according to Martin (and Sellers), was in part due to an over-estimation of the possible Egyptian resistance and in part, according to James, to Eden's desire to avoid heavy allied casualties.

Chief of General Staff Levy, in his brief references to the experience of 1956, said that for the IDF, the campaign had highlighted shortcomings in the communications systems among the ground units and in maintaining air supremacy over the battlefield. Levy said that while Israel decided as a result to increase its air power, enhancing offensive capabilities, the Egyptians had drawn from the self-same problem, an opposite conclusion — deciding to rely on ground-to-air missile systems to protect its ground troops against air attack.

The main Israeli conclusion from the campaign was that henceforward, Israeli offensives would rely largely on tanks and highly mobile formations and not use armour as an infantry-support arm.

JAMES gave a biographical sketch of Eden, perhaps the most important protagonist in the affair. He lacked

"true self-confidence" and "ruthlessness," said James, and though "marked" by the experience of the trenches and slaughter of World War I, was "not a pacifist." He was "kind" and had "integrity," though these did not add up to "weakness and irresolution," said James.

The problem at Suez was that he had to deal with the U.S., which had never been high on his personal-political priorities, and which in 1956 tried to be "both anti-colonialist and anti-Communist." Hence, a basic "ambivalence and ambiguity" characterized U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's utterances before the operation. For Britain, it was to prove "a deadly ambiguity," and this lay at the heart of the latter British-American misunderstanding.

Well aware of the danger of Soviet penetration of the Middle East, Eden pressed the U.S. to finance the Aswan High Dam. But pressed by Congress, the U.S. dropped out.

Britain was also hamstrung in 1956 by its treaty commitments to Jordan and took seriously the Israeli misinformation campaign that set up Jordan as the primary target of possible Israeli assault. Eden tried to forge a viable Baghdad Pact aimed against Communist penetration. Hence, Britain kept its distance from Israel — even to the extent of the military in 1955 preparing a plan for the invasion of Israel — and entered the countdown to the invasion of Egypt somewhat suspicious of one of its allies (as Israel throughout remained of "perfidious Albion").

Indeed, initially, Eden flatly rejected Macmillan's suggestion that Israel be brought in at all. Later, his military advisers told Eden that Israel could never reach the Canal "in a few days," as came to pass. His top military men may have opposed the operation or thought its aim of toppling Nasser unrealistic — but they never bothered to inform Eden.

According to James, Nasser was "ruthless, megalomaniacal and conspiratorial," as appreciated by Eden, but Eden never really conceived of him as a threat of the stature of Hitler. (It was Hugh Gaitskill, the Labour Party chief, who did, says James.) Rather, Eden thought Mussolini a better comparison.

Ultimately, American pressure "broke Macmillan," which is what led to Eden's own collapse, and to

the abortion of the adventure in midstream.

Prof. Ian Troen, who has been given first access to the Ben-Gurion diaries for 1956, quotes B-G as assuming in January 1956 that the Egyptians would have absorbed their new weapons and would attack Israel by the "beginning of summer."

B-G only learned of a possible Anglo-French attack on Egypt on August 3, according to the diaries. The British had made it a condition to the French that Israel not be involved. B-G feared that Nasser's political victory over Britain, in nationalizing the canal, would lead him to plan Israel's destruction, at first through "a peace offensive" and later, through military attack. Yet B-G could not quite believe that Britain and France would allow Nasser to get away with making them a laughing stock.

On September 25, Shimon Peres returned from France and told B-G and Dayan that the French were losing patience with Britain and wanted "immediate action against Egypt" in collusion with Israel. B-G saw the opportunity, "for the first time," of an Israeli alliance with "a major European power." B-G continued to deeply mistrust Britain.

Troen devoted much of his lecture to the tripartite meeting of the allies at Sevres, on October 22-24. From the first, B-G was sceptical about the possibility that Anglo-French air attacks on Egypt could topple Nasser. Even if the canal and Cairo were occupied, Nasser would move to the south of Egypt and from there mount a guerrilla war, B-G argued.

But the defeat of Egypt by the tripartite alliance, B-G believed, might lead to a disintegration of Jordan and its division between Israel and Iraq, with Iraq agreeing to resettle the Palestinian refugees on its territory. A "Westernized Middle East" would emerge from Nasser's overthrow.

The talks at Sevres began with France pressing for an Israeli military initiative. B-G parried by demanding a simultaneous joint operation or at least Franco-British guarantees and protection, with an iron commitment to join the fray within a day or two.

At one point the French Chief of Staff, General Challe, proposed that Israel stage an air raid on Beersheba to provide it with a justified reason

to attack Egypt. B-G exploded, saying Jews won't mount such a deception and that Israel had good enough reasons to strike as things already stood.

Eventually, the three countries agreed to a joint, chronologically staggered venture, signing, at B-G's insistence, a "treaty" to this effect, detailing what each side's role would be, in both nature and timing.

ALFRED ATHERTON, assistant secretary of state under President Jimmy Carter, had a limited bird's-eye view of Suez while serving as secretary to the U.S. Embassy in Damascus and organizing the establishment of the American consulate at Aleppo. "Of course we didn't know (at first) all the ramifications," especially the (Israeli-French-British) collusion. We thought that it was another Israeli retaliatory strike, and again, another case of Israel's policy (then) of over-reaction."

Looking back, Atherton explains America's reaction to the campaign, by making three points. The fact that it was a combined British-French-Israeli onslaught on an Arab country, led by the Arab world's most popular leader, meant that the Arab states and peoples were bound to rally around Egypt — "unless Nasser was killed." The invasion, it was clear, to Washington, provided "an enormous opportunity for the Soviet Union" to penetrate the area. The fact that the U.S. was or soon became completely disillusioned with Nasser did not nullify this point. Lastly, while the U.S. was then obsessed with the Cold War, it was clear that whatever happened in the Middle East — including Suez — couldn't be treated solely through a Cold War prism.

"Once it started, we had to disassociate ourselves from the venture, though no doubt we helped bring on the war because we had done nothing to dispel Israel's sense of insecurity during the previous months, and years," says Atherton. "But having taken this (anti-British-French-Israeli) position, we missed the opportunity of increasing our influence in the region. The U.S. was faced with an unhappy choice, but chose what it saw as the lesser evil — forcing the British and French to withdraw so that the area did not fall under Soviet influence."

What if the U.S. had faced only an Israeli invasion of Sinai? "The U.S. would have had a more difficult choice but ultimately would have taken the same position — to get the invader out." Atherton in general looks at Suez-Sinai as something of a "Greek tragedy," with all the protagonists, once launched on a course, carrying through as if doing merely what they had to do.

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THE SINAI CAMPAIGN

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

MOSEH DAYAN BAR-ON, who was Moshe Dayan's bureau chief during the Sinai Campaign, tried for 30 years to obtain permission to publish his memoirs. He lobbied Ben-Gurion repeatedly on the matter, and even approached Ben-Gurion on his deathbed. But Ben-Gurion was adamant in his refusal. Robert Rhodes James believes that Ben-Gurion's obstinacy on the matter stemmed from the promise the Israeli leader had made to Eden not to reveal the secrets of Severs.

In 1965, Ben-Gurion went to London to attend Winston Churchill's funeral. When Ben-Gurion arrived at the reception afterwards, Eden was standing with the queen. As soon as Ben-Gurion walked in, says James, Eden quickly came over to greet him.

Thus, on his deathbed, Ben-Gurion told Bar-On, "I will not go back on my word to Eden. After all, he left his queen for me."

BAR-ON's book is scheduled to be published in the next few weeks. His address to the conference showed that Ben-Gurion might have had other reasons for refusing.

The most famous battle of the Sinai Campaign took place at the Mitla Pass. It was there that the paratroopers first established the legacy of not leaving behind the wounded in battle, a legacy which has become one of the mainstays of IDF ideology and education. In recent years, however, the management of the battle at the Mitla Pass has come under harsh attack from some of its participants.

The commander of the brigade which parachuted into the Mitla was Ariel Sharon. Bar-On's revelations will probably pave the way for at least a partial vindication of Sharon.

Bar-On recalled that initially, the paratroopers had been slated to spearhead the Israeli incursion into Sinai. Three full-scale combat paratrooper landings had been planned, two on El Arish, to be complemented by a seaborne invasion, and one at Sharm e-Sheikh.

Later, however, Dayan accepted the proposals of Haim Laskov and Meir Zorea that infantry, accompanied by the armoured corps, bear the main burden of the offensive.

At this stage, Dayan proposed - almost as an afterthought - that the paratroopers land at the Mitla Pass in order to disrupt the Egyptian communication lines. Dayan thus pulled the paratroopers, considered the most efficient and reliable fighting force in the IDF, totally out of the army's battle plans.

More importantly, after the details of the cooperation with the British and the French were finalized, Dayan decided to conduct as minimalist a campaign as possible. He preferred to avoid unnecessary casualties by waiting until the British Royal Air Force had knocked out the Egyptian fighters and bombers. According to the Severs protocol, this was due to take place 36 hours after the beginning of hostilities.

But only a select few in the IDF knew anything at all about the collaboration with Britain and France. Shlomo Gazit recalled that secrecy was so strict that when Dayan convened the general staff to announce the imminent campaign, he asked OC Regional Command Yitzhak Rabin and Zvi Zur to leave the room after saying simply that "we are going to be engaged in a war with Egypt."

Sharon was one of those who were not told of the Severs agreement. He could not know that the main purpose of the landing at the Mitla pass was to allow the IDF spokesman to truthfully announce that "Israeli forces are near the Suez Canal."

He did not realize that his crack brigade was the tool with which Dayan had decided to supply the prearranged pretext for the British to issue their ultimatums to Israel and Egypt.

Sharon, therefore, did not make do with only landing at the Mitla, but gave the orders to advance. The

The secrets of Mitla revealed

Mitla battle, one of the costliest and bloodiest in IDF history, "had nothing to do with the campaign itself," said Bar-On.

Bar-On also described another victim of the shroud of secrecy. OC Southern Command Assaf Simhoni sent the crack 7th Armoured Brigade into battle without receiving the approval of the general staff.

When confronted by Dayan, Simhoni, confused by the timidity of the general staff's battle plans, told Dayan, "You are ruining the Israeli army."

IN CONTRAST to the generals of the first day of the conference, Bar-On - as well as Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres - did not ignore the pivotal role of the French and British. Bar-On revealed that between 4,000-5,000 French troops had been stationed in Israel during the campaign.

Rabin's assessment of the impact of British and French participation bordered on hyperbole and caused a ripple of disapproval to pass through the audience. He described the cooperation as "the greatest achievement that any government has given its armed forces before going into a military operation."

It's possible that Rabin's passive role during Suez as OC Northern Command which allowed him to admit that the spectre of massive European involvement caused Nasser to withdraw all of his air force, navy and the bulk of the Egyptian army west of the Suez Canal, away from the approaching Israeli forces.

Rabin said that it was obvious that the British and French intended to bring about the downfall of the Egyptian regime. "The way that I understood it," he added, "Israel shared this goal, although it was not our responsibility to create the military situation which would achieve the target."

Rabin noted the political dividends for Israel. British and French participation neutralized Syria and Jordan. Also, the common stance with the European powers provided an assured veto against anti-Israeli measures at the UN Security Council.

PERES WAS 33 years old in 1956. He was then director-general of the Defence Ministry and the principal architect of the French-Israeli collaboration. He spoke of the French in sentimental tones, evoking the heady days when Israel first realized its goal of securing a "big brother."

Peres said that emotions and sentiments play a crucial role in political relations.

France, he said, was divided during World War II between collaborators and resistance forces. "It was the language which characterized France at the time," he said, "and it was the language which wholeheartedly supported Israel."

Peres' insistence that the French were willing to launch a joint action with Israel was greeted with much scepticism by Golda Meir. Peres, who had first told Ben-Gurion of possible French cooperation in early August 1956, went with Golda, Dayan and Abba Hava to meet French minister Moshe Carmel to France on September 28. (Peres said of Carmel, "He knew French," although Ben-Gurion was probably more interested in drumming up the support of Carmel's party than in his linguistic abilities.)

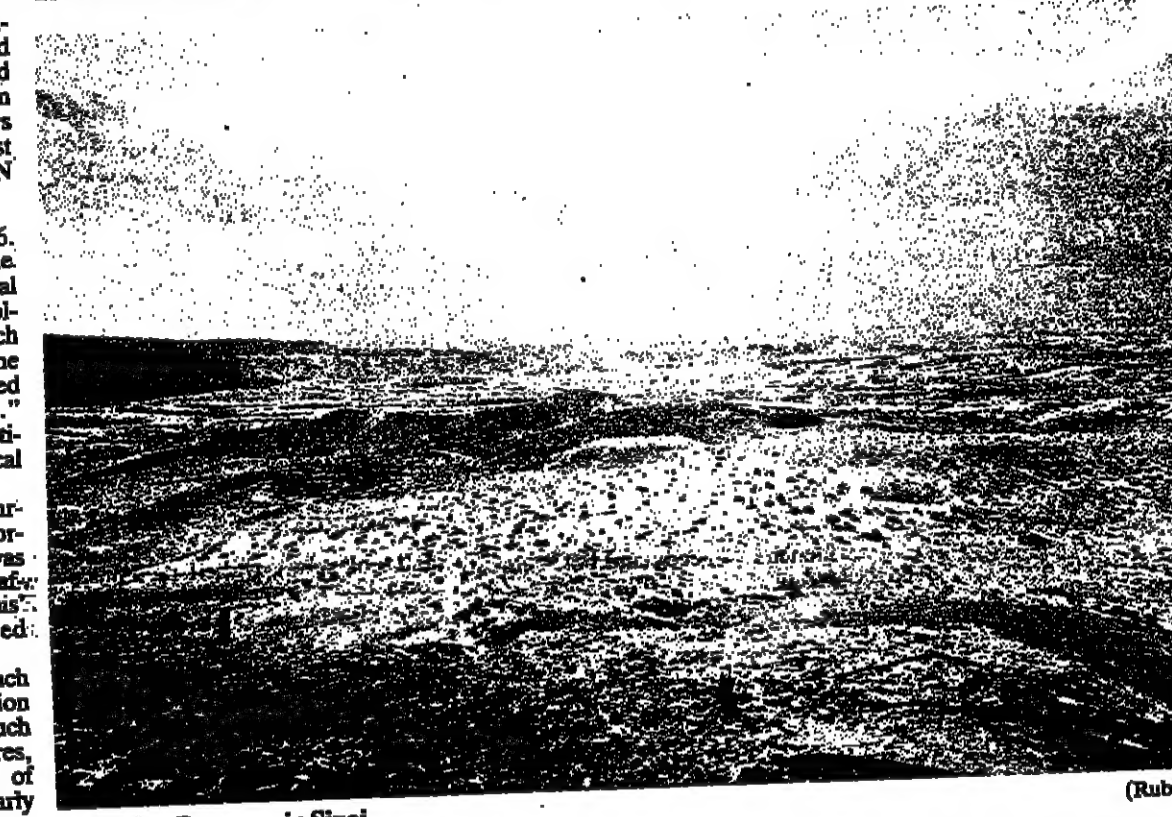
Peres smiled and said, "I don't think that Mrs. Meir was a great admirer of me." In fact, the joint trip only substantiated Golda's suspicions of Ben-Gurion's promise.

Contrary to Peres' promise, French Prime Minister Guy Mollet did not participate in the meeting with the Israeli delegation. Worse, the French appeared to be hemming and hawing again, belying Peres' assertion that they had already made up their minds.

"She was sure that I was bluffing,"



Sinai from a satellite



The Mitla Pass area in Sinai

Peres said. Golda returned to Israel and promptly reported to Ben-Gurion that there was "no chance" of cooperation with the French.

PERES SAID that Ben-Gurion had no intention of remaining in Sinai after it was taken from the Egyptians. He claimed that Ben-Gurion so informed the cabinet before the campaign. His speeches of the "Third Israeli Commonwealth," said Peres, were only for the purpose of negotiations.

Peres obviously wishes to downplay that part of Ben-Gurion that desired a Sinai Campaign which would have fundamentally changed the situation in the Middle East. And, in his pragmatic fashion, he would probably choose to ignore

Ben-Gurion's diary of October 22, 1956, jotted on the flight to Severs.

Allan Troen revealed that during the flight, Ben-Gurion went to the trouble of copying out - in Greek - that portion of a sixth-century Byzantine text that described the ancient Jewish kingdom of Yotvata, which Ben-Gurion believed was located at the Straits of Tiran. In the Severs meetings, Ben-Gurion made repeated references to Israel's right over that territory, based on the "historic precedent."

Ben-Gurion then also ruminated on the plan, aptly named "fantastic," which envisioned the division of Jordan between Iraq and Israel and a reduced independent Christian state being established in Lebanon, with Israel and Syria splitting the rest.

Then, he wrote, a concert of interest would be established by France, Iraq, England, Lebanon and Israel in a Middle East without Nasser.

Peres was almost consoling in attempting to find some positive aftermath for the British and French representatives at the conference, who by that point had sat through three days of hearing about their countries' failures at Suez. Peres said that the European action had probably saved the continent of Africa from Nasserite domination. "We would not have had a black Africa, but rather a red one," he said.

Rabin, however, after having lulled the European participants into a false sense of satisfaction by expressing the advantages the diversion of Egyptian forces had for Israel's

military campaign, promptly shook them back to reality. He said that the Suez Campaign had marked the end of the era of five global powers and the beginning of the era of two superpowers.

In Suez, he said, the Soviet Union and the United States had "expelled" Britain and France from the Middle East, thus bringing to an end their century-long presence.

"Israel and Egypt were the winners in Suez, Britain and France the clear losers," he said.

ON THE Soviet angle, Prof. Galia Golan of the Hebrew University said that the basic outline of the Soviet response to Suez "set the pattern for their reactions to subsequent Middle East crises."

The Soviets' response to Suez, she said, comprised using the opportunity to improve their position with the Arabs, while at the same time avoiding a confrontation with the U.S. As in later crises, the Soviets quickly removed their personnel and Ilyushin-28 bombers from Egypt, lest these become involved in the fighting.

They waited until November 5 before issuing their first ultimatum, when they were already well aware of U.S. pressure to bring the Suez operation to an end. "Soviet threats tend to come exactly at the point when there is no need to carry them out," Golan said. They could save Nasser from final defeat, but they would not prevent him getting into the dangerous situation in the first place.

Nasser was deeply resentful that it took the Soviets nine days to reply to his pleas for assistance. And later, Sadat was to point out the contrast between Soviet inaction and American efforts to bring the fighting to a halt.

EGYPT'S WRESTING a political victory from the jaws of a stunning military defeat was taken up by Dr. Moshe Shemesh of Ben-Gurion University. Shemesh compared Nasser's initial misperception of the military planning of his adversaries to that of the Israeli intelligence prior to the Yom Kippur War.

Nasser, he said, "was entrapped by a strategic concept which he did not abandon until the eve of October 31, 1956, when he was completely surprised by British and French air attacks."

Nasser thought that British and French military action was improbable. He also discounted the possibility of "collusion" between Britain, France and Israel, estimating that this would constitute political suicide for Britain in the Arab world.

The Egyptian high command, on the other hand, did not rule out the possibility of a British-French attack, but thought that Israel would confine itself to provocative attacks on the eastern front. Military orders for the defence of Egypt issued in September 1956 stated that Britain and France were liable to attack Egypt for the purpose of occupying Alexandria and the Canal Zone and from there to advance along two axes towards Cairo.

This Egyptian estimate led the high command in September to withdraw from the Sinai half the forces which were there in June. One infantry division remained in the northern and central areas of Sinai, where previously there had been more than two.

Shemesh also blamed the Egyptian army's mediocre performance on its commanders. Abdel Hakim Amer, war minister and chief of staff, had been given command of the armed forces in June 1953. A Nasser confidant, he was promoted from the rank of major to that of major-general. "At the apex of the pyramid stood a major dressed up as a general," Shemesh said. "Amer might have been the commander of a battalion, not of an army. He was a

political officer, not a military one.

THE WITHDRAWAL of French, British and Israeli forces from Egypt allowed Nasser to achieve an overwhelming political victory. Two results which followed were his emergence as leader of the Arab world and the increased awareness of the Palestinian problem.

The Sinai Campaign caused a change in Nasser's strategy vis-a-vis the Palestinians. From then on, Nasser would present the Palestinian issue as the second aim of Arab nationalism, after the political, economic and social liberation of the Arab people.

MOST OF the speakers were curiously reticent about the role of the U.S. in undermining the efforts of the campaign, perhaps as a result of the tendency to let bygones be bygones between friends.

Prof. Robert Schulzinger of the University of Colorado said that the Eisenhower administration learned three important lessons from Suez - each of which was wrong.

First, that the U.S. was more influential and dominant than any other power in the Middle East. Second, that the spread of communism was the major problem facing the area, and third, that Nasser was an agent of the Soviet Union. Thus evolved the Eisenhower Doctrine, meant to combat the spread of Nasserism, that is, communism.

Schulzinger quoted Abba Eban as describing the Eisenhower plan as "The Doctrine of Immaculate Consumption."

In April, 1957, the U.S. helped King Hussein engineer a coup against the Nasserist party which had won the October 1956 elections. Eisenhower later claimed that the action "had deterred a communist attack on Jordan."

The 1958 U.S. Marine Corps intervention in Lebanon was meant to show the Eisenhower Doctrine at work. (When Eisenhower informed British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of the impending action, the British Prime Minister retorted "You are doing a Suez on me.")

The action in Lebanon was seen as a catharsis in U.S. policy, and thereafter the Americans lost interest in Nasser. U.S. officials had exaggerated their estimation of both U.S. and Soviet power in the Middle East. And though they consistently maintained that Nasser was a "problem," they never proceeded to do anything about it.

MOREDECHAI GAZIT, formerly director-general of the Foreign Ministry, deviated from the generally rosy appreciations of the benefits accorded Israel for the campaign.

Gazit recounted Ben-Gurion's concern for the safety of Israel, despite the assumption of a marked improvement of Israel's situation after 1956. In 1963, Ben-Gurion appealed to American president John F. Kennedy to issue a joint declaration with the Soviet Union's Khrushchev which would vouch for the inviolability of Israel's borders and sovereignty.

Paradoxically, at the same time, Ben-Gurion declared on television that Israel was interested in a defence treaty with the U.S. For Kennedy the two proposals were contradictory - one excluded the Soviets while the other invited them in through the front door.

Gazit derided the March 1957 agreement over Sinai, terming it "scandalous, diplomacy by prayer, abracadabra hocus pocus agreement."

Following the Suez Campaign, Gazit said, the Palestinian refugee problem turned into the Palestinian national problem, nor was the question of Israel's existence settled in the 10 years after Sinai.

Gazit, however, agreed with the majority of speakers at the conference that the opening of the Straits of Tiran, the removal of the Egyptian threat to Israel and Israel's image as a strategic and military success, were the worthwhile fruits of the 1956 military campaign.

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FEATURES

Western intellectual who cares

ABOUT 20 years ago the first groups of Soviet Jews openly declared their right to an independent national existence. In their letters to the Soviet authorities, they condemned the government's anti-Semitic policies and declared that they intended to keep their national traditions, to learn the language and cultural heritage of their ancestors and to maintain contacts with the Jewish world and the State of Israel. They also demanded their right for free emigration to Israel.

Motivated by their resolve to find a way out of the oppressive and humiliating situation in which they found themselves in the Soviet Union, these pioneers of Jewish re-birth certainly realized the risks they were taking. However, many Soviet Jews were ready to oppose their desperate situation actively, and furthermore, they anticipated public support from Western intellectuals who were known to be extremely sensitive to such social injustices.

Alas, although many of the expectations of the Jewish activists in the Soviet Union were fulfilled, Western intellectuals by and large proved to be indifferent to the fate of Soviet Jewry.

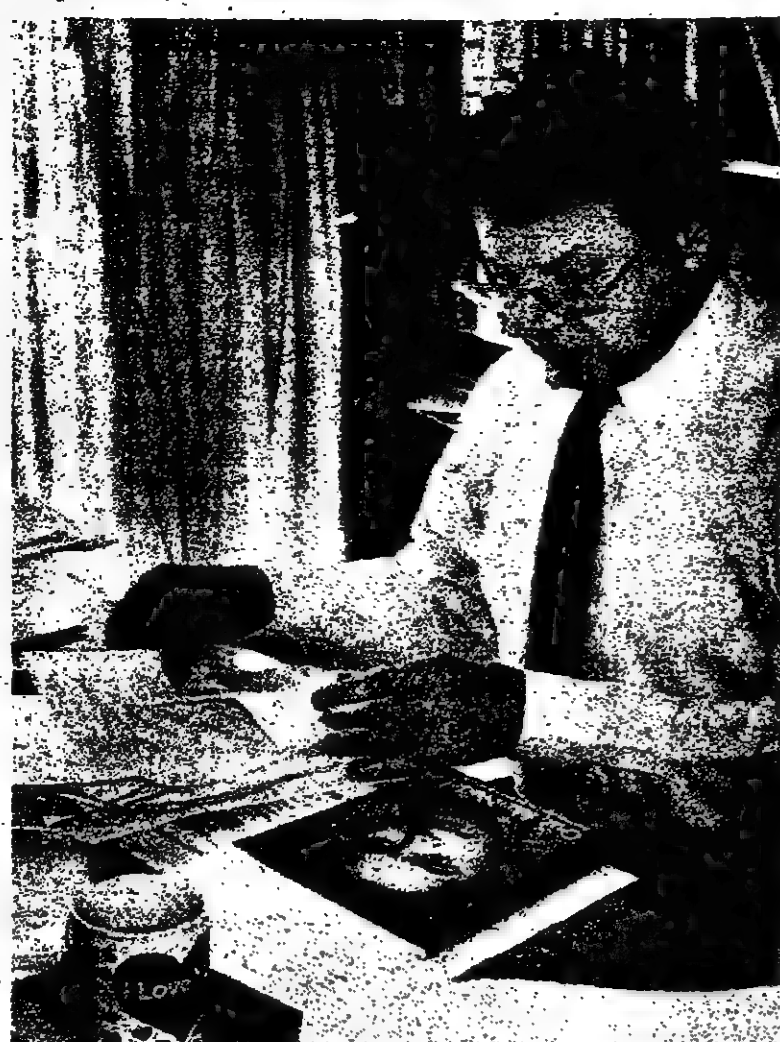
It might have been that their leftist views prevented many of them from admitting that a regime, which claimed to be Socialist, had not, in fact, ensured the common rights of its citizens. Others, possibly, found themselves restricted by the anti-Israel mood of the mid-Seventies and did not wish to soil their names by cooperating with Israel and Jewish organizations.

Only very few Western intellectuals saw a historical miracle in the reawakening of Soviet Jewry, which had extended far beyond the limits of the Jewish national problem. Few were able to realize that those Soviet Jews who had dared to demand their rights found themselves in no less difficult a situation than that of Louis Corvalan or Angela Davis.

Among those few was the British historian and publicist, Martin Gilbert. An expert in Modern History and the official biographer of Winston Churchill, Gilbert seemed to be very far from the Soviet Jews and their problems. However, the infamous, anti-Jewish trials of 1969-71, at which two death sentences were passed, drew his attention to what was going on in the Soviet Union.

FROM THE early '70s, Gilbert closely watched the fate of the struggling Soviet Jews and tried to understand their problems and make his own contribution to their cause. He met with people who had already succeeded in leaving the USSR, wrote several articles on the subject and in 1976 published *The Jews of Russia*, in which he retraced the

Only a very few saw a miracle in the reawakening of Soviet Jewry, writes Eitan Finkelstein in a tribute to a historian who also battles for a cause



British historian and publicist Martin Gilbert (Edwin Schenkelbach)

history of Russian Jewry. Gilbert had been to the Soviet Union, but he returned in 1983 and travelled to Moscow, Leningrad and Minsk to meet with Soviet Jews. He was a guest at many scientific seminars and Hebrew study circles organized by refuseniks, and he visited many Jewish activists in their homes. Gilbert's journey to the USSR and personal acquaintance with Soviet Jews made an indelible impression on him. From that moment on the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union became not only a subject for him as an historian but also a matter of personal anguish.

Gilbert has kept in touch with many Jewish activists - he made a third trip to the Soviet Union in 1985 - trying his best to answer their requests and to help them achieve exit visas from the USSR. He has also met with many prominent public and political leaders in Britain,

the United States and other countries, and he has addressed the public, demanding that the fate of Soviet Jewry not vanish from the international agenda.

However, the publicist's main weapon is his pen. The fruit of Gilbert's journey to the USSR was his book *The Jews of Hope*, published in 1984 - 20 portraits of Jewish activists.

Lev Ovsishcher is an ex-pilot, retired colonel and a hero of the battle for Stalingrad. For his wish to emigrate to Israel he was reduced to the rank of private and deprived of his pension - his only means of subsistence.

Prof. Alexander Lerner was a prominent and successful scientist. After he applied for an exit visa in 1971, he lost his job and found himself, to the subject of constant threats and harassment.

expert in electronics and the son of a well-known Communist Party member. After applying for a visa in 1970, he was deprived of his job and was subjected to constant pressure and persecutions by the KGB. He has spent five years in Siberian exile.

WHILE TRYING to generate the widest possible public concern for Soviet Jews such as these three, Gilbert has never contended that hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews were ready to move to Israel at once. Rather he has asked to help those who are begging for help.

Meanwhile, the Soviet authorities have been continuing their maneuvers, unwilling to solve the problem of Jewish emigration. From time to time a Jewish activist is released from prison or labour camp and has left the Soviet Union, but his place is often immediately taken by somebody else. Furthermore, Soviet propaganda has tried to present these Jews as criminals, suspicious characters and unworthy persons.

Gilbert believed that the Western public should know the true picture of what is going on in the USSR. That was the purpose of his recent book *Shcharansky: Hero of Our Time*.

Why was Sharansky chosen? Probably because his biography is the typical biography of the Soviet Jew of the postwar generation.

Sharansky has certainly earned such immense prestige by his selfless struggle for people who are deprived of their common rights in the USSR, as well as by the courage and wisdom he demonstrated in his opposition to the machinery of repression there. To an equal extent, however, Sharansky owes his popularity to those people who told the world about him: his wife, Avital, of course, but also Gilbert.

Against the background of Sharansky's amazing life, Gilbert portrays the broad panorama of Soviet Jewish life: the terror of Stalin's days, mass Jewish persecutions and the "Doctors' Plot." Later there were to be the so-called "economic trials" under Khrushchev, and Brezhnev's harsh anti-Israel, anti-Zionist policies.

Sharansky is now enjoying his freedom, but Yosef Begun, Zachar Zushnain and Leonid Volvovskiy are still in prison. For more than 15 years Vladimir Slepak, Ida Nudel, Alexander Lerner and many others have been trying in vain to obtain their exit visas. The persecution of these people continues.

Gilbert is aware of this, and he is as tireless as ever in his efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry, lobbying against their imprisonment and in favour of their right to emigrate. Martin Gilbert, who this week marked his 50th birthday, not only writes history, he makes it.

Explosion of colour

THE ISRAELI PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA - Georg Solti, conducting. (Tel Aviv - Muntz Auditorium, October 29.) Review: "Daphnis and Chloe," Suite No. 2; Mahler: Symphony No. 5 in C minor.

OUT OF nothingness the sounds came floating, gradually gaining strength and cohesiveness until finally Ravel's "Daphnis and Chloe" produced a huge, colourful symphony. I have not experienced such a display of shades, hues and nuances in a long time.

The instruments were ready and waiting for Solti's direction, which made them burst into activity. This indeed was a dazzling performance which seemed to surpass anything Ravel's music has hitherto achieved in performances in our concert halls.

If Ravel's music satisfied our senses, Mahler's challenged our intellect. Solti's Mahler was perhaps the most intellectual performance I have ever heard. The Mahler seemed to have gained a new precision.

As in Ravel, the symphony revealed an incredible amount of inside activity, yet Solti never lost his sense of direction. There was an undeniable sanity in his approach, in which he organized Mahler's myriad of details into something solid and firm.

Such a performance could of course be brought about only with an orchestra capable of impeccable playing, and this performance indeed proved that under a great conductor, the IPO fully and proudly stands up to the challenge.

THE QUESTION, however, must be asked: was it an exciting Mahler?



The answer is "no." This was a Mahler to be immensely admired for its technical excellence, for its total reflection of the conductor's intentions and, with the exception of the horns, for its rich and faultless intonation.

The performance should also be admired for its complete conceptual unity and its systematic progress towards the climactic last movement.

However, the other side of Mahler, the emotional, seemed somewhat relegated to a secondary consideration. There was no submission to the incredible complexity of Mahler's inner world.

But then again, I have never believed in musical absolutism, that is, in there being a single, right performance. Mahler's music is still controversial and, like other great works, has many faces. Solti showed us just one, and he did this convincingly, as only a great maestro could have done.

PIANO RECITAL BY RIKI SPERBER (Tel Aviv Museum, October 28). Beethoven: Sonata No. 12, Op. 26 in A flat major; Schumann: Eschigschwanke and Wals, Op. 26; Aves Baroque: Echoes of Childhood; Chopin: Two Polonaises, Op. 26 and 26b; Hindemith: From Suite "1922" for Piano, Op. 26.

RIKI SPERBER presented a programme which suited her musical disposition and showed her talent at its best. What seems to be her greatest

asset is her artistic integrity. In all her interpretations she sounded natural and honest, finding an easy way to one's heart.

The andante con variazioni and the funeral march in the Beethoven Sonata were pensive and deeply felt. Schumann was played with disarming charm, revealing impressively all the contrasting moods and means of expression of the five movements. Another success was Aaron Harlap's jovial Echoes of Childhood, a clever combination of the early Bartok and Poulenc, effectively set for the piano.

The recital reached an interpretative peak with the two Chopin Polonaises, which struck a sombre and gloomy note and which brought out the uniqueness of the composer's style. Two wild pieces, "Shimmy" and "Ragtime" from Hindemith's Suite, brought this truly enjoyable recital to a delightful conclusion.

BENJAMIN BAR-AM

THE 1986/87 season of the Haifa Chamber Music Society is scheduled to open tomorrow evening with the Israel Piano Trio performing Haydn's Trio in A Major, Shostakovich's Trio in E Minor and Beethoven's Trio in E-flat Major ("Archduke").

Among the performers in the other seven concerts scheduled for this season, are the New Jerusalem Quartet: The Israel Quartet with pianist Pinna Sabman; The String Quartet of the Tel Aviv Academy with the participation of a soprano coloratura, harpist, flutist, clarinetist and three cellists. The quartet is



Georg Solti: 'conducting as only a great maestro could' (Camera Press)

under the guidance of Uri Wiesel, and it will be joined by the Bartok Quartet, this season's only guest group from abroad.

Gila Yaron, Eli Heifetz and Idit Zvi will also present the Israeli works, Avni's "Leda and the Swan" for voice and clarinet, and Ned Rorem's "Ariel," five poems by Sylvia Plath for soprano, clarinet and piano.

Also planned is a Brahms evening featuring the Camerata and the chamber ensemble of Ora Shiran, violin; Gad Lewentow, viola; Emanuel Gruber, cello; orit Zelniker, double bass; Eli Heifetz, clarinet, and Menahem Wiesenberg, piano. They will play Beethoven's Trio in D Major, Hindemith's Quartet for Clarinet, Violin, Cello and Piano, and Schubert's Quintet for Piano and Strings in a Major ("Trout").

All of the concerts will take place on Saturday evenings at the Beit Harofe.

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SOCCER PREVIEW

Kfar Sava's precarious hold

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. — The new National League leaders, Hapoel Kfar Sava, will be hard pressed to hold onto their front-running position this weekend, as their closest challengers, Maccabi Haifa, Bnei Yehuda, all have comfortable home fixtures.

Hapoel Kfar Sava travel a few kilometres down the road to play away against Hapoel Petah Tikva, at 2.30 p.m. tomorrow. Although the Petah Tikva stands in 8th place, there is only a three point difference between the clubs. Nir Levin is the Petah Tikva striker who the Kfar Sava defence will have to keep under constant control, as on his day he can be one of the country's most lethal goalkeepers.

Leading the Kfar Sava attack will be the tall Eli Yanni, who said this week that he was delighted to be back with the club after two years

with Hapoel Tel Aviv. Maimoni, Nishar and Ravivo have been playing important supporting roles, and the entire Kfar Sava side have shown exceptional keenness this season. In their last two games they beat Maccabi Tel Aviv and Maccabi Netanya, but tomorrow's game could be a tough one for the leaders.

That should not be said of Maccabi Haifa, who return home to entertain Hapoel Lod. Lod have not won a game this season and flounder in 15th spot. Ameli, Brailovsky and Selektor should pack too much punch for their visitors to the Kiryat Eliezer stadium. Kick off is at 2.30 p.m.

It is the same story at Bloomfield where Bnei Yehuda play troubled Bnei Netanya. Although the Bnei Yehuda players returned to regular training on Wednesday, under new coach Shmuel Perlman, they are likely to find Eli Ohana, Maimilian,

Ofir Shmueli and Co. too talented. The Jerusalemite will be without Avi Golder and Shlomo Shirazi, both suspended, so Ya'acov Buzaglo will probably get his chance to join the attack.

The league champions, Hapoel Tel Aviv, play in Netanya. After four scoreless drawn games in succession, their fans will surely be expecting goals again. Meir Ben-Shitrit and Gil Landau know football and are fine front-runners, but lack the killer instinct in front of goal. Coach David Schweitzer might well move Moshe Sinai and Amar into more active attacking roles.

Maccabi Tel Aviv too will be keen to return to winning ways in Yavne, where a visiting team has won this season. Certainly on paper. Eli Dricks, Oded Machness, Benny Tabak, Moshe Gariani and Avi Cohen appear to have the edge.



ELI DRICKS. — Maccabi Tel Aviv hope he wears his shooting boots. (Hanoach Gutmann)

OTHER FIXTURES: Maccabi Petah Tikva v Hapoel Be'er Sheva, Petah Tikva 12.30 p.m.; Shamshon v Bnei Yehuda, Bnei Yehuda 12.30 p.m.; Bnei Yehuda v Maccabi Jaffa, Hatzitza Quarter 2.30 p.m.

EUROPEAN SOCCER

Soviets dazzle while Iceland flounder

MOSCOW (Reuters). — The Soviet Union provided further evidence of their pedigree with a classy 4-0 victory over Norway in their opening European Soccer Championship Group Three home qualifying tie in Simferopol on Wednesday night.

Two-goal winners from 1984 European champions France in Paris earlier this month, the Russians ended the fighting Norwegians' challenge with a typically dynamic three-goal burst within the space of eight minutes in the first half.

The Soviets charmed the crowd of 40,000 with a dazzling display of their attacking skills, although it took them 25 minutes to break down the well-organized Norwegian defence, Gennady Litovchenko scoring with a stunning 25-metre shot.

Dynamo Kiev teammates Igor Belanov and Oleg Blokhin then raised the tally to three before halftime.

The Soviets, who have now taken five points from three games to give them an outstanding chance of qualifying for the finals in West Germany in two years time, completed the four-goal rout when Khidiatulin scored with a superb 30m. free-kick in the 54th minute.

In other qualifying ties, East Germany moved into the second spot in Group Three standings after ending Iceland's surprisingly successful European Soccer Championship run with a methodical 2-0 victory in East Berlin's Karl-Marx-Stadt.



SHARPSHOOTER. — Spain's Ramon Vasquez (right) hugs a joyful teammate after scoring from the penalty spot to defeat Italy and give Spain the European Under-21 soccer championships. Vasquez's goal was the first of three for Spain in the penalty shootout to take the title.

Having held France and the powerful Soviet Union to draws in Reykjavik, the Icelanders had been expected to pose a considerable

But Iceland's hopes of frustrating the East Germans in the less than half-full 45,000 capacity stadium floundered after just five minutes when striker Andreas Thom punished a defensive lapse.

The expected goal-rush never materialized, however, and the East Germans had to endure a number of scares before they put the result beyond doubt. Matthias Kirsten scoring in the final minute.

In Group Four, Zlatko Vujovic, the France-based striker, scored a hat-trick as Yugoslavia beat Turkey 4-0.

The victory put Yugoslavia on top of the group, ahead of England on goal difference, with a crunch meeting between the two countries coming up at Wembley on November 12.

Vujovic's first goal came from a headed pass from Katanec. Nine minutes later he profited a misunderstanding between the Turkish goalkeeper and a defender to make it 2-0 at the break. The same Vujovic made an accurate pass set up the third for debut-making Savicevic.

With the Turkish now in disarray the 28-year-old Vujovic, to the delight of his home fans, completed his hat-trick with six minutes left.

Denmark beat Finland 1-0 in Group Six. The game's lone goal was scored by Jens Jorgensen in the 67th minute.

Switzerland were held to a 1-1 draw after Portugal matched an 86th minute equalizer in their Group Two match.

Oxford on course for Cup

LONDON (AP). — Oxford United, who won the competition last season when it was known as the Milk Cup, moved into the fourth round of the Littlewoods Cup with a 3-1 win over Sheffield United.

Oxford striker John Aldridge scored his 13th goal of the season and defenders Gary Briggs and Neil Slater scored the others as Oxford Division visitors.

Steve McMahon grabbed a hat-trick for Liverpool in a 4-1 thrashing of Leicester at Anfield.

Ron Atkinson's nightmare continues at Old Trafford, where Manchester United could only draw 0-0 with Southampton. Only 23,639

spectators watched a disappointing game.

But it was all smiles for David Platt at White Hart Lane, where Tottenham beat Birmingham 5-0. Cliff Allen scored twice to bring his tally for the season to 15. Chris Waddle, Graham Roberts and Glenn Hoddle were also on the mark.

West Ham, with goals from Paul Goldard, Alan Dickson, and Mark Ward won 3-2 at Walsley.

Walsley 2, West Ham 3; Tottenham 5, Birmingham 0; Crystal Palace 2, Notts Forest 2; Bradford 3, Portsmouth 1; Oxford 3, Sheffield Utd 1; Norwich 4, Millwall 1; Derby 1, Aston Villa 1; Luton 0, Southampton 0; Liverpool 4, Leicester 1.

SCOTTISH PREMIER DIVISION
Dundee U, Rangers 0; Falkirk 2, Hearts 0; Aberdeen 0, Dundee 3; St. Mirren 1, Motherwell 0; Celtic 0, Clydebank 0.

TENNIS

Berger Israel's last hope

By JACK LEON
ASHKELON. — Ilana Berger will be the only Israeli still in contention in singles play when the men's and women's satellite circuit tennis tournament concludes here over the weekend.

Mexican-born Berger won her way into the semifinals of the WTA event with a 4-6, 6-2, 6-2 success against fellow Israeli Zahavit Gal-On.

The unsung heroes of the men's ATP meet were qualifiers George

Kosac of Romania and West German Timo Pulkowski who have now fought their way to the semifinals of the main draw and meet at 2 p.m. today.

Pulkowski yesterday edged Italian Angelo Panigrahi 6-7, 6-2, 6-4, while Kosac was leading Heiner Moring 6-3 when the German withdrew with a foot injury.

Israel's direct interest in the event ended when Raviv Weidenfeld was defeated 6-7 (9-11), 6-1, 6-3 by American Greg Hill.

Israeli girls Sophie Rafael and Dalia Coriat lost yesterday in women's singles quarterfinals.

The Winnipeg blitz

WINNIPEG (AP). — Brian Mullen scored two goals, including one on a power play, as the Winnipeg Jets blitzed the Calgary Flames with six straight goals in the game's first 23 minutes and went on to post a 6-2 National Hockey League victory Wednesday night.

Kirk Muller had his first three-goal game and also collected three assists to lead the New Jersey Devils to an 8-4 victory over the Pittsburgh Penguins in Pittsburgh.

John Oprea scored two second-period goals and goalie Greg Stefan survived a shaky start to earn save 28 Chicago shots as the Detroit Red Wings earned a 5-2 home victory over the Blackhawks.

Mark Hunter scored a pair of goals and Doug Wickhamer added a shorthanded goal and an assist to lead the St. Louis Blues to a 7-2 victory over the New York Rangers.

Mats Nilsson had a goal and two assists in the first period to pace the Montreal Canadiens to a 5-2 triumph over the Buffalo Sabres.

Out of the water and into a sea of red ink

FREMANTLE (Reuters). — The proudest yacht in America's Cup competition, Courageous IV, has been seized by bailiffs over unpaid bills.

The West Australian Supreme court announced yesterday that Courageous IV had been "arrested" under a warrant in an action from a company claiming it is owed \$15,600 in charter and towing fees.

Courageous IV was one of 13 foreign entries which started America's Cup competition here earlier

River Plate crowned

BUENOS AIRES (Reuters). — Argentina's River Plate were crowned South American soccer champions after they beat America of Colombia 1-0 in the second leg of the final of the Libertadores Cup.

River's new young star Juan Panseri scored the only goal of a tight, tough match in the 69th minute.

Realign Petrovic

BELGRADE (Reuters). — Yugoslavia's top basketball player Drazen Petrovic, has signed to play for Spanish club Real Madrid. The four-year contract, worth \$2m., will start after the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

Real sign Petrovic, 22, arguably the best point guard in Europe, signed the contract after obtaining special dispensation from the Yugoslav authorities.

race against the defending Australian boat next January.

But the Yale Corinthian Yacht Club, which entered Courageous IV, pulled out after the preliminary races 11 days ago having failed to raise enough funds to replace the 12-year-old yacht.

A twice-successful defender of the America's Cup for the New York Yacht Club, Courageous is virtually obsolete against modern 12m. class yachts. It could manage only one victory in the first round of challenges.

Matrimonial

Groups

Complete personal evaluation (Couples), psychoanalyst, author, Yael Angel, 17.00-20.00, weekdays. Surprise insured! 02-863171.

General

Thorough personality evaluation, graphologist, palmist, author, Joel Engel, 17.00-20.00, weekdays. Surprise insured! 02-863171, not Shabbat.

Dental Labs

Dental health institute requires dentists and assistants. 02-715798.

Gymnastics

Exercise course for young and older women opening beginning November, centre city, reasonable price, professional instructor, twice weekly. 222756.

Services

Flat renovation including painting and whitewashing, guaranteed, convenient prices, references. 02-360771.

Shimming

Phonology, lowest price in town, finest quality, reductions for large quantities. Matron, 22 Ben Shimon, Jerusalem, 23195.

Haila Flats

House in Rosh Pina, 3 rooms + 1/2, 1 parking, 120sq.m., 04-920771, not Shabbat.

Villas & Houses

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For sale, Natchiya, villa on sea shore, 1

ISRAEL is supposedly short of foreign currency. Yet its policy on road vehicles suggests it does not mind throwing precious dollars to the winds, as the following examples will show.

The cheapest cars in the world (in terms of value for money) are the Japanese. The Israeli purchaser has a free choice of models from all countries save for one; the best Japanese models are denied him.

The most expensive vehicle in the world for use as a taxi is the Mercedes-Benz. England uses Austins, France uses Peugeots and Renaults, Italy uses Fiats. Israel uses the Mercedes-Benz.

Cars can be powered by either petrol or diesel. Diesel cars are cheaper to run because they do more kilometres per litre. Israelis are not free to choose between the two types. Which of them is banned? You have guessed: the cheaper diesel car.

The authorities want to keep the cost-of-living index down. Nevertheless they have recently allowed taxi prices to go up, because the owners showed that they were losing money. Why were they losing money? In order to get a licence they say they have to buy one from an existing licence-holder. The current market-price for a "green number," as the licence is called, is \$18,000. That outlay has to be amortized, right?

The purchase-tax on cars is proportionate not just to its price but also to its engine-size. It is much cheaper to buy a 1300 cc car than a 1600 cc. But if a version is offered with a choice of engine sizes, like the Ascona or the Regatta or the Subaru, the one with the smaller engine is costlier in fuel, more sluggish, less durable and in any case not generally available with automatic gear.

Yet that is the car the Israeli (with an eye on his purse) has to buy.

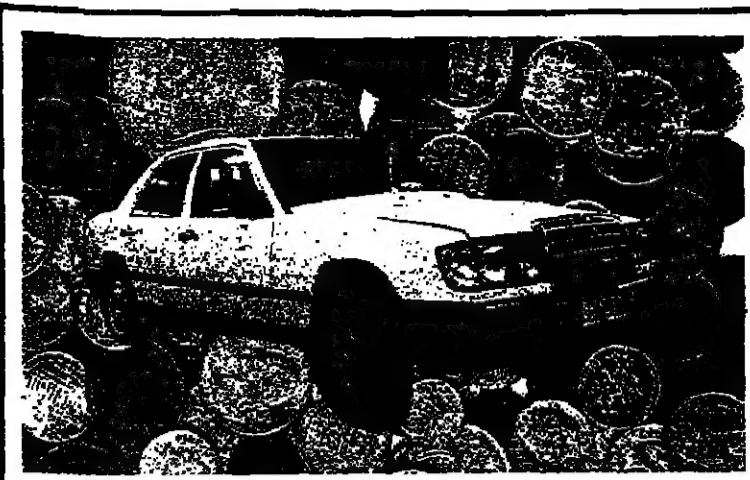
LET US START with the problem of Japan. Its leading manufacturers boycott Israel. A few minor ones defy the boycott and flood the Israeli market, proving that the local customer knows what is best. Yet he is confined to the medium quality Subaru/Daihatsu, and is refused access to the brilliant products of Toyota, Nissan and Honda.

Who is responsible for this boycott? Japanese government officials shrug their shoulders, claiming it has nothing to do with them. Each Nipponese company decides by itself whether or not to sell to Israel.

Other countries have anti-boycott laws. Not Japan, though it depends more than any other nation in the world on the free flow of trade. Besides, boycotts are ridiculous nowadays. Cars are made up of parts manufactured in different countries. A headline in a reputable trade journal proclaimed last month "British-Built Nissans on Sale Soon." Shall we be able to acquire these Japanese creations under their British label?

A look at vehicle policies

RECKLESS ABANDON



David Krivine

It is hard to believe that Nissan or Toyota would be obsolete if Israel applied the proper pressure. Perhaps the time has come to consider a counter-boycott. Let us tell Toyota that we shall talk the Jews of Europe and the Americas into ostracizing its models until it sells to Israel.

Toyota's resistance cannot be unrelenting. The Arabs are unlikely to ban that company when they do not ban any of the non-Japanese motor manufacturers, all of whom supply Israel freely. Also, for the Arabs, there is no sense in antagonizing the world's biggest foreign investor.

If Mercedes taxis are imported into Israel it is not at the government's behest. Like the Japanese officials referred to above, it is the Israeli ones this time who disclaim responsibility. Owners purchase this model at their own choice, they are not forced to do so.

Presumably they think it is the best investment available, but why do the advanced countries of the West think differently? Even in Germany, Mercedes is not monopolistic, other taxi-makers are found on the roads.

The luxurious model looks cheap in Israel because it is charged less duty. The same car sold to the general public costs double. That may give the taxi-driver a (mistaken) impression that he has got a bargain. After all, the more expensive a car is, the bigger the tax rebate.

Uriel Rond, head of planning at the Transport Ministry, offers

another explanation. There is no tax rebate for spare parts which, as all local motorists know, are expensive here. It is therefore economical to buy a car that does not need frequent repairs. Says Rond: "Taxi-passengers bang the car-doors all day and every six months the hinges have to be changed. Mercedes-Benz are more durable."

In practice, used taxis can only be re-sold to other taxi-owners. When the person who buys a car that has been worked 12 hours a day for several years, intends himself to go on using that car for 12 hours a day, he will pay a good deal more if it is a Mercedes.

With regard to taxi licences, these can be acquired from the government, but only by persons complying with certain criteria (eight years' seniority as an employed taxi-driver, a clean record, etc.) The cost was until recently \$1,200, which was out of line with the re-sale value of the licence in the open market. The Transport Ministry therefore stopped issuing these documents while it thought up a new system.

Meanwhile the waiting-list grew to number 800 applicants, and taxis began to be in short supply. The High Court pronounced that unless the ministry produces its new system by a certain deadline (last April) it must resume the distribution of licences under the old system.

April came and went, with no new system in force. So licences are being issued once more under the old system — but at a fee of \$5,500, which was — last summer — half the market price. Those without the eight-year seniority and other qualifications

had no option but to pay \$11,000 for an existing green number.

In point of fact the market-price has risen since, as mentioned above, to \$18,000. According to Rond the ultimate aim is to drop the seniority and other criteria and issue licences to all comers — but at the full market price of \$18,000.

"We also want to stop our exclusive reliance on the one-man-one-taxi system," he adds. "Existing taxi firms are actually associations of individuals, each owning his own vehicle. We would like to make it possible for registered companies to buy several vehicles and thus supply a better service to the public."

Recently a lawyer had a bright idea. He bought a green number for \$18,000 and purchased a car at the bargain-basement rate charged for taxis. But he uses the car for his own private motoring. It probably cost him more to buy than a private car, but he can henceforth trade it in for a replacement every few years at the lower price. The legality of his stunt is now being tested in the courts.

PETROL today costs 40 per cent more than diesel fuel, owing (again) to taxes. At that price differential it would be much cheaper to run a diesel car. Even if the price-gap should drop to 20 per cent, the ministry calculates, the diesel would still be cheaper for motorists who do 30,000 kilometres a year or more, but not for those doing less. (That is because the purchase-price of a diesel car is greater.)

"Our conclusion," says Rond, "is that if the price difference narrows to 15 per cent we shall allow the import of diesel passenger cars." The reasoning being that there will not be a mass flight from petrol engine to diesel engine varieties.

I suspect that his calculations are out-of-date. Diesel cars have improved and cheapened out of all recognition in recent years. Why not charge the same price for both fuels and let the motorist buy what he wants?

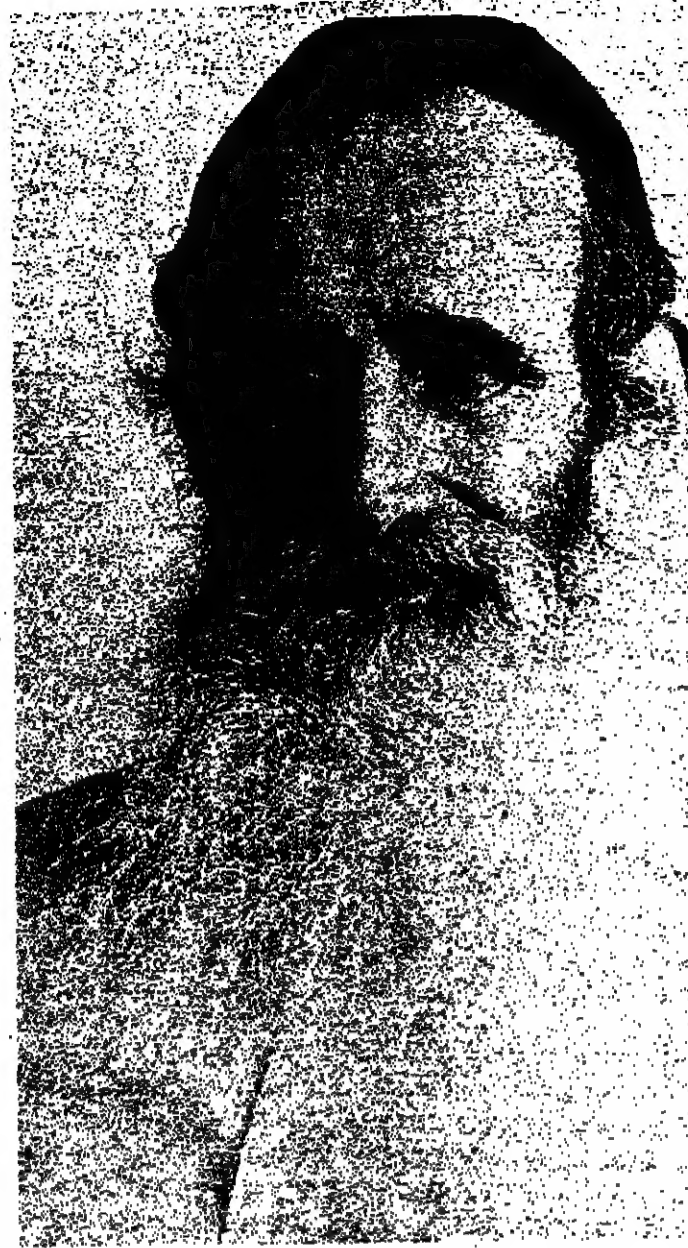
Because — comes the lame answer — the authorities want to subsidize bus transport. Giving them cheaper diesel does the trick. Heavy lorries also use diesel but subsidizing them is not a consideration, says Rond.

There are surely other ways of subsidizing Dan and Egged than by keeping diesel cars off Israel's roads.

Finally, the taxation of cars by engine-size. The 'good' news is that at long last this is likely to cease. The Transport Ministry has recommended taxing the cars only by price, with a surtax on luxury cars. If other government departments concerned with the subject agree we shall be able before long to choose between engine-sizes according to their utility to us and no longer according to orders from above. That is a change worth waiting for.

A heretic searcher for a true image of the economy

Meir Tamari is a senior economist at the Bank of Israel who goes his own way and earns suspicion and contempt for his unorthodox views. The Post's Pinhas Landau reports.



(Z. Ackerman)

THE BANK of Israel is a large building peopled almost exclusively by macro-economists (and their secretaries and ancillary staff) churning out material pertaining to the economy as a whole. True, there is one department, the Examiner of Banks, which is concerned with a specific sector of the economy, and the individual firms that comprise it, but that is the exception that proves the rule. The unwritten motto of the place is that the big picture is what counts — what the professionals call "economic aggregates," meaning things like total imports and exports, total credit in the economy, money supply, and that sort of thing.

Some people, who inhabit what they call "the real world," don't believe in macro-economics, because they think that what really matters is what individual households, firms and sectors do, expect and plan. Later, these micro decisions show up in aggregate macro figures, but by then it's too late to try and affect the decisions that the figures reflect. Such people, who in Israel are few and far between, are not welcomed in the Bank of Israel, or the other government offices, because they propound the heresy — whether implicitly or explicitly — that government will usually make the wrong decisions, based on out of date information, and seek to move the economy in a direction it ought not, at that time, need to go in.

Nevertheless, tucked away in the central bank, is one such heretic who insists on trying to ascertain what is going on in as near to real time as it's possible to get, given the backward state of data collection in the Israeli economy. Dr Meir Tamari is a senior economist, formerly of the research department and now attached to the Governor's office, who is an internationally-renowned expert on small businesses. Regarded with a mixture of suspicion and contempt by the macro-economic majority in the Bank, Tamari produces one of the most interesting and potentially useful documents to emerge from the august institution that sits opposite the Prime Minister's Office. This is the quarterly review of business trends, which has been running since late 1983, and whose thirteenth issue came out last week.

There are, as Tamari is the first to admit, rather more thorough reports of this nature prepared in other countries, but that is hardly relevant. Skippy and limited as it is, his review is by far the best such material produced in Israel. Based on questionnaires sent to some 140 companies, it provides an overall indication of trends in manufacturing, services, transport and construction sectors, including output, sales, orders for home and foreign markets, employment, inventory levels, credit utilization and so forth. In addition, the firms also indicate their expectations for the coming quarter in the key areas of output, orders and employment.

In practice, not all the companies reply quickly enough, so that as soon as he has in the responses from 90-100 companies — and on condition that these companies appeared in the previous quarter's review — Tamari compiles his picture. The questions, however, are not quantitative, i.e., they don't ask for amounts of sales or percentage changes in employment, or whatever. Instead they merely seek trends — for each variable, the company says whether it fell significantly, fell slightly, was unchanged, rose slightly or rose significantly. The number reporting falls is subtracted from the number reporting rises and the result presented as a net change.

For example, the current report includes responses from 97 industrial companies. Concerning output in the third quarter of July-September, 35 said they had no change, 15 were slightly lower, 32 slightly higher and 15 significantly higher. The net figure was thus +32, and this compares with the equivalent net figure of +16 in the previous report. The conclusion is, of course, that output grew sharply in the last three months, meaning that the economy as a whole was expanding rapidly.

Similarly, utilization of productive capacity rose from a net +4 figure in the second quarter of this year to a net +18. Since +4 out of 97 companies is not significant, while +18 is, and since a jump from +4 to +18 is itself a major change, this indicator shows that in both relative and absolute terms, industry was working harder and producing more goods in the third quarter than in the second.

What about the current quarter? Tamari's responses showed that of 94 firms, five had a significant fall in orders from the local market, 16 had a moderate fall, 21 no change, 39 reported a moderate rise and 13 a significant rise. Last quarter's orders are this quarter's production, so the figure of +30 net, shows that output is set to rise further in the coming months. In the previous review, the comparable figure in this area was +15, so that, once again, the upward trend is clearly demonstrated. This is supported by the figures on expected output levels, which came in at +27, up from +18 last time. However, all this increased output is having only very marginal impact on employment in industry, as the figures on the expected changes in numbers of employees demonstrate. Here the improvement from the last quarter to this is limited to the change from a net -17 to a net -10. In other words, more companies still expect to reduce their workforces than increase them, but this majority has grown smaller.

THE report is full of such fascinating trends, which are of infinitely more relevance than the standard Bank of Israel fare, in which what happened nine, 12 or 18 months ago is exhaustively analysed *ad nauseam*. However, there is an obvious price to pay for having the information in such general format. This is that the figures are not "weighted" to take account of the relative sizes of different companies. Thus if a few major companies report declines, the fact that there is a majority that has reported increases in an item is mis-

leading, because the numerical majority is outweighed by few big declines. This is no theoretical quibble, as the current report states explicitly with regard to export prospects.

The overall response on exports shows most firms strongly bullish on export sales prospects. But the report notes, without breaking down the figures, that the metals and electronics sectors still have declining export orders. Because of the size of some of these firms, especially in the electronics branch, "the decline in orders might bring about a decline in total exports, despite the upturn registered by the majority of industrial firms." Reading between the lines, what Tamari is indicating is that Tadiran's poor performance has distorted the whole picture, because its position is so dominant in the electronics sector. And regarding total exports, the report is limited further by the fact that it has no input from the defence sector. Given the size and weight of Israel Aircraft Industries and one or two others, it is clear that this means the figures are not directly translatable to macro-economic equivalents.

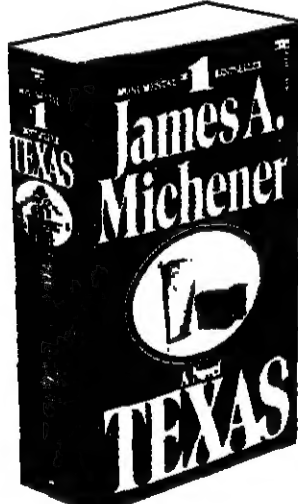
To Tamari that is no great loss, but some of his colleagues at the Bank of Israel are nevertheless endeavouring to see to what extent the trends revealed by the company review over the three years of its existence have corresponded with subsequent findings of wider data, of the sort the Bank specializes in. The results are not yet in, but suppose they show a discrepancy, what would that mean?

To the macro-economic brigade it would be proof that such incomplete and haphazard research methods as are used in preparing the quarterly company review are a waste of time, because the "real figures" collected in the prescribed manner many months later, contradict them. To people who live in "the real world," what matters is that Tamari's reports have corresponded with reality on the streets, so that when he said the economy was going and would go down, it did, and when he said his figures showed a pick-up in activity, that's what happened.

They are more concerned with obtaining information on current trends quickly, albeit in only rough form, than in learning exactly what happened to text-book variables when it is far too late to do anything about it. In a time of rapid change everywhere, and especially in an economy as volatile as Israel's, the less rigid approach has a growing attraction and importance.

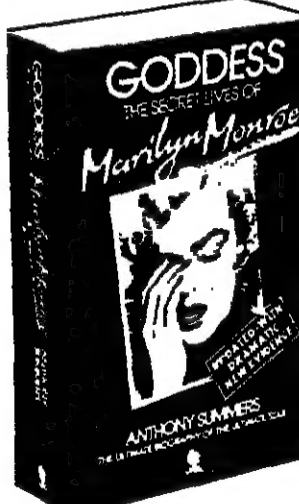
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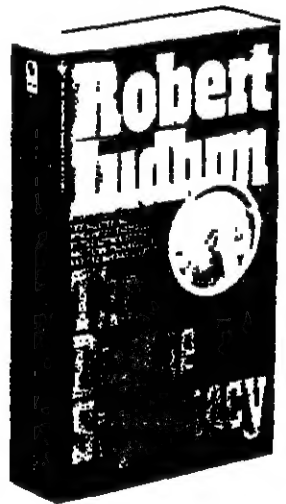
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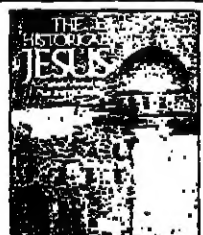
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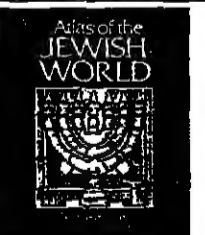
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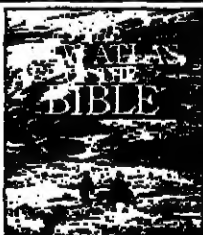
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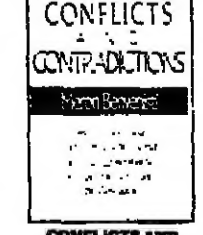
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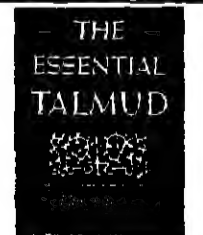
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MARKET PLACE

ALAN ELSNER

'Big bang's' deadline

After a deeply embarrassing start to its "big bang" market deregulation, the London Stock Exchange is under intense pressure to put its faulty computer trading system right within days rather than weeks.

Computer breakdowns in the exchange's Stock Exchange Automated Quotations, or Seq, system on the first three days after "big bang" — a series of reforms to deregulate the markets which took effect this week — led some traders and much of the press to charge that the whole network is seriously flawed.

Other dealers say it is too early to judge and accept the stock exchange's own evaluation that the hitches represent teething troubles that will soon be overcome.

But all agree that the exchange must have the system working within days, before the market is seriously tested by its first day of really heavy trading, or London's bid to establish itself as one of the top three world financial centres along with New York and Tokyo will founder.

"It is clear that the stock exchange and executives will have to take some swift and possibly drastic measures if 'big bang' is to enhance London's position in international debt and equity markets and not irretrievably damage it," wrote financial commentator Kenneth Flett in the Times yesterday.

So far, three main sets of flaws in the system have emerged:

• The exchange's six-year-old screen information system, known as Topic, has been seriously overloaded with page requests, causing the entire network to seize up for short periods on Monday and Tuesday.

• Several market-makers are having problems with their own computer systems, and with the link between them and the central market computer. This caused at least four key dealers to suspend screen trading for a time Wednesday. The exchange reported normal trading yesterday.

• Efforts by the exchange to cut pages from the system to relieve the pressure led to complaints from government bond dealers that they are being denied vital information. Several are now looking at alternative systems, financial sources say.

"The exchange has clearly underestimated the degree of stress required of Topic. It has been seriously overloaded with page requests for market-makers," says Tony Bennett, spokesman of the British financial group Barclays de Zoete Wedd. "We sincerely hope that the exchange is regarding the situation seriously and applied remedies over the weekend to bring the system under control."

The exchange did receive a major boost Thursday when international bond dealers, grouped in the International Securities Regulatory Organization (Isro), voted overwhelmingly to approve a proposed merger with the London exchange.

Isro had considered setting up its own telephone-dealing stock market to handle internationally-traded British equities leading to fears that the London exchange would lose much of its business and become of increasingly marginal importance.

But Isro Chairman Ian Steers said the decision, which needs the approval of 75 per cent of stock exchange members, did not imply that the new joint exchange would use Seq. "We are studying six systems. Even if Seq was adopted, it would take at least two years of hard work to modernize it to our requirements," he told Reuters.

He said Seq seemed to be handicapped by undercapacity, but added: "Traders are very volatile people who get easily frustrated."

Gap narrower than forecast

Dollar up sharply on U.S. trade figures

An unexpected narrowing in the U.S. trade deficit in September sent the dollar higher against major world currencies yesterday.

The Commerce Department reported that the trade gap narrowed to \$12.6 billion in September from \$13.36 in August, its second monthly decline in a row and the smallest gap since April.

September's figure brings the annual rate for all of 1986 to a record \$170.5b., far above the previous record set last year of \$148.5b. But economists said the September statistics indicated the deficit would continue to improve.

Moreover, analysts have expected the deficit for the month to be over \$13b.

After sitting out early trading in anticipation of the trade figures, the currency market turned active in London.

The U.S. currency rose to a seven-month high against the pound sterling, ending the day at \$1.298 to the pound, compared with \$1.413 Wednesday. The British unit was additionally hurt by uncertainty in world oil markets following the dismissal of Saudi Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani.

Against the Deutschmark, the dollar rose to 2.0515 from 2.0285 on Wednesday. It marked a high of 2.059 marks late in the day.

In Tokyo, the dollar gained only marginally, finishing at 159.9 yen, compared with 159.35 at Wednesday.

day's close. Dealers noted that the market had closed before the U.S. trade data were released.

Economists had predicted that the trade deficit would begin to improve as soon as the fall in the value of the dollar began making imported goods more expensive — and thus less competitive with domestic products. The fact that the deficit has now declined for two back-to-back months is likely to be viewed by some economists as a sign that the long-awaited turnaround may at last be beginning.

Imports in September totalled \$30.1b. down from \$30.9b. in August. Exports totalled \$17.5b., down from \$17.6b. during August.

As usual, the largest single trade deficit was with Japan, \$4.1b. in September. But was down from the \$4.7b. in the previous month. (AP, Reuters)

Lebanese pound

BEIRUT (Reuters). — The Lebanese pound tumbled below 50 to the dollar yesterday for the first time amid frenzied demand for the U.S. currency.

"The pound closed at 52.63 to the dollar against Wednesday's closing price of 49.75.

"There was a crazy demand for the dollar," one dealer said. \$12 million to \$15m. had been bought in trading yesterday.

Pri Ze employees occupy factory to fight closure

Post Economic Staff
HADERA. — The 250 workers at Pri Ze Growers Ltd., the citrus processing concern that was placed in receivership last week, vowed they would occupy the company's plant here until Sunday.

The workers, who were laid off last Thursday after the company announced it could no longer pay its

bills, barricaded themselves inside the plant Wednesday. Sunday, Pri Ze's court-appointed receiver, Lipa Meir, is due to announce a decision on whether to shut the plant and sell off its assets, or sell it as a going concern. The workers promised they would take drastic action on Sunday, if the company was likely to be dissolved.



Lufthansa's public relations director in Israel, Yitzhak (Chuckie) Zaroni (left), receives West Germany's Order of Merit from the embassy's charge d'affaires in Tel Aviv, Werner Plick, on Wednesday. Zaroni has held the post since Lufthansa began flying to Israel 17 years ago and has been instrumental in organizing youth, sports and cultural exchanges between the two countries.

(Andre Brutman/Media)

FINANCIAL DATA ISRAEL EUROPE U.S.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES
PRIME BORROWING RATE: 1.58% per month
Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)

	Last Updated	Tapas	Pakam 7-Day Pakam 30-Day
LEUMI	30.10	7.17.50%	8-18.00%
HAPOLIM	29.10	10-17%	11-17.50%
DISCOUNT	17.10	8-16.50%	13-18.00%
MIZRAHI	8.5	8-16%	8-17%
FIRST INT'L	17.10	10-17%	11-17.20%

Rates vary according to size of deposit.
(Tapas: demand deposit paying daily interest.
Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 59 days.)

PATAN — FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES (October 30)

	MINIMUM DEP	3-MONTHS	6-MONTHS	12-MONTHS
USD (\$100,000)	5.375	5.375	5.375	5.500
STG (100,000 pounds)	9.750	9.750	9.750	9.750
DMK (100,000 marks)	3.750	3.750	3.750	3.750
SFR (\$200 francs)	3.250	3.250	3.250	3.250
YEN (3,000,000 yen)	3.375	3.375	3.375	3.250

SHEKEL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES (October 28)

	CHEQUES AND TRANSFERS	BANKNOTES	Rep. Rates
Currency basket	1	1.4800	1.4800
U.S. Dollar	1	1.4788	1.4788
Deutschmark	1	0.7324	0.7324
Pound Sterling	1	2.0306	2.0306
French Franc	1	0.2241	0.2241
Japanese Yen	100	0.0283	0.0283
Dutch Florin	1	0.6480	0.6480
Swiss Franc	1	0.8847	0.8847
Swedish Krona	1	0.2133	0.2133
Norwegian Krone	1	0.1987	0.1987
Danish Krone	1	0.1947	0.1947
Finnish Mark	1	0.2998	0.2998
Canadian Dollar	1	0.6866	0.6866
Australian Dollar	1	0.6472	0.6472
S. African Rand	1	0.6485	0.6485
Belgian Franc	10	0.3500	0.3500
Austrian Shilling	10	0.0410	0.0410
Italian Lira	1000	0.0089	0.0089
Jordanian Dinar	1	0.76	0.76
Egyptian Pound	1	1.2524	1.2524

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EUROPEAN FINANCIAL MARKETS

(October 28) PRECIOUS METALS

GOLD:	LONDON A.M. FIX	404.00	P.M. FIX	406.50
SILVER:	PARIS NOON FIX	403.41	ZURICH P.M.	406.75
PLATINUM:	LONDON P.M.	573.00		
PALLADIUM:	LONDON P.M.	129.95		

FOREIGN CURRENCY CROSS RATES (London 15.30GMT) (October 30)

	SPOT	2 MTHS	3 MTHS	6 MTHS
DEUTSCHMARK	2.0305/10	47/42	86/81	130/120
POUND STERLING	1.4030/40	129/126	198/192	373/368
SWISS FRANC	1.6915/25	63/58	79/74	153/143
JAPANESE YEN	187.20/30	35/33	45/43	80/85
FRANCO FRANK	6.610/35	300/325	500/540	860/910
ITALIAN LIRA	1401.00/50	1085/1105	1625/1750	3300/3425
DUTCH GULDEN	2.3035/45	16/14	26/23	56/49
BELGIAN FRANC	42.395/415	9/11	14/17	29/34
DANISH KRONA	7.4750/15	410/460	610/650	1250/1350
EUROPEAN CURRENCY UNIT	1.0207/12	29/26	42/38	86/80
FINNISH MARK	4.8530/50	470/510	710/760	1450/1550
AUSTRALIAN DOLLAR	0.6492/97	86/83	123/118	213/207
NORWEGIAN KRONA	7.4580/30	1130/1150	1645/1685	3140/3180

Formula for determining forward rates:
high/low (eg. 210/220) — deduct from spot price.
low/high (eg. 210/220) — add to spot price.

NEW YORK FINANCIAL MARKETS

(October 28) U.S. MONEY RATES

Prime rate 7.50%; Broker Loan 6.75%; NY Euros 3 months 6.5%; Fed Funds late 6 1/4%

NEW YORK FOREIGN EXCHANGE

	DMK	SFR	STG	YEN	CAN
CLOSING	2.0240/50	1.6715/25	1.4120/30	160.00/10	1.3880/95
OPENING	2.0370/80	1.6880/10	1.4050/60	161.50/70	1.3872/77
LATEST	2.0470/80	1.6985/95	1.4045/55	161.15/25	1.3880/95

Comment
The dollar closed sharply higher yesterday after a day's active trading. U.S. Commerce Secretary Baldrige's comment that the U.S. has turned the corner on the trade deficit and better than expected trade numbers sparked the dollar's rally. News the Bank of Japan will meet today to discuss a discount rate cut also helped. Sentiment slipped on Yaman's ouster.

ISRAELI STOCKS

TRADED IN NEW YORK:

	Last	Prev. Close	High	Low	Vol ('00s)
Alliance	18	15 1/2	15	15 1/2	19
Am. Int. Pap.	1 1/2	2	2	1 1/2	22
Ampel	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	68
Bank Leumi	8 1/4	8 1/4	8 1/4	8 1/4	2
Bank Leumi	11 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2	10 1/2	95

Over the counter

	Last	bid	ask		Last	bid	ask
Airtel	—	6 1/4	6 1/4	Interpharm	—	4	4 1/2
Bank Leumi	—	21 1/2	23 1/2	Optotech	—	UA	UA
Elbit	—	7 1/2	7 1/2	Rada	—	3 1/4	4 1/4
ECI Tel.	—	UA	UA	Schler	—	UA	UA
Elron	—	6 1/4	6 1/4	Taro-vit	—	3	3 1/2
Elron	—	6 1/4	6 1/4	Teapharm	—	5 1/4	8
IDB Bank	—	48	52	SPV	—	UA	UA
IS	—	UA	UA				

WALL STREET Closing Prices

WALL STREET Closing Prices					
Dow Jones Indices		NYSE Highest Volume			
IND	1,877.39	+25.69	GOODYEAR	48 1/4	+ 1/2
TRANS	835.38	- 4.50	ATT	24 1/2	+ 1/2
UTILS	208.43	+ 1.44	US X CP	25 1/2	UNCH
STOCKS	741.44	+ 5.38	BEVERLY EN	21	- 3/4
NYSE COMP	140.20	1.40	COMMERCIAL	21 1/2	2 1/2
NYSE IND	180.76	- 0.79	MOBIL	37 1/2	+ 1 1/2
S-P 100 INDEX	229.20	+ 2.80	P SVC NM	35 1/2	- 3/4
S-P COMPOSITE	243.68	+ 2.72	TRANSNATL	41 1/2	+ 1 1/2
AMEX INDEX	284.39	+ 0.75	EAST AR	9 1/2	+ 1/2
			LUCKY STR	33 1/2	- 3/4

Statistics
NYSE VOL 194,818,890 STOCKS UP 1,091 DOWN 529
NASDAQ VOL 106,076,300 (Oct. 28) STOCKS UP 1,109 DOWN 569

Comment
Wall Street stocks yesterday leveled off at prices slightly below then the session's highs. Speculation about a cut in the Japanese discount rate gave the market much of its boost, while a smaller than expected trade deficit prompted optimism that the economy is improving.
With oil prices rising following the ouster of Saudi Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani, oil stocks tumbled on gains. Exxon rose 1 1/2 to 67, Chevron 1 1/2 to 42 1/2. Airlines, however, began to lose ground.

OVERSEAS FINANCIAL DATA
PROVIDED BY REUTERS MONITOR

Cabinet due to get draft budget in 2-3 weeks

Post Economic Reporter
The Treasury plans to present the cabinet with its first draft of the fiscal 1987/88 budget, Finance Ministry officials said yesterday, thus formally opening what promises to be a long and protracted debate on spending.

At a meeting to discuss the budget yesterday, top Treasury officials confirmed the need to cut NIS 400 million from spending next year. In the current fiscal year, which ends March 31, spending cuts are supposed to come to NIS 350m.

Treasury officials said the extent to which the cabinet can cut next year's budget would determine the degree to which the proposed reforms of the tax system and capital market can be implemented. Although the first steps of the capital market reform have begun, officials expressed concern about where further cuts could be made in the budget next year to permit further reforms.

In efforts to balance this year's budget, the Treasury failed in its attempts to impose levies on pensions, doctors' fees and high school tuition. If these revenue-raising measures are again raised in discussions on next year's budget, officials said, they are again unlikely to win approval.

The officials said they expected the upcoming budget to include a measure that would help exporters, whose costs have been boosted by successive cost-of-living allowance increases without accompanying devaluations in the value of the shekel.

To solve the problem, Treasury officials are proposing that the Histadrut be asked to give up cost-of-living allowances during the next fiscal year. That would permit the shekel exchange rate to remain stable without boosting labour costs.

CHILDREN

(Continued from Page One)

Broadcasting Authority, Natan Brun, to edit out a piece of the tangerine ad on TV that shows a small girl stuffing a whole tangerine into her mouth. The Gilo boy's death resulted from doing precisely this.

The head of the ministry's public-health department, Dr. Alma Avni, is to present director-general Dan Michaeli next week with a report on the accident and with recommendations on how to prevent it from recurring. The ministry wants cooperation from the Education and Labour and Social Welfare Ministries to teach first-aid courses to day-care, nursery and kindergarten teachers, and to teach the Heimlich Maneuver and other techniques to the public at large.

Each year, hundreds of children put objects in their mouths and start to choke as they become lodged in the windpipe. There are no statistics about how many die, but pediatricians told The Post that such deaths are common.

In some cases, an older sibling of a child may "feed" parts of toys or hard pieces of food like peanuts to a younger child when parents are absent. A few years ago, a child choked to death on a piece of popcorn his brother gave him and his mother did not know how to save him.

A first-aid counsellor at Magen David Adom headquarters in Tel Aviv told The Post that the organization gives courses to teachers that include Heimlich and other techniques for removing objects from the windpipe. "We'll teach anyone who asks and pays the fee," said the counsellor.

The problem is that no one requires them to take the course.
The Labour Ministry, which is in charge of day-care centres, has set up an internal investigation of the Gilo case. An official admitted that most day-care and kindergarten teachers have not taken the courses.
Montechel Scheffer, in charge of security at the Education Ministry, said that every year, some 400 teachers take first-aid courses. But they are not required to do so, and many teachers took the courses years ago and have forgotten what to do.

The Emma Community College in Jerusalem, which trains all the Emma day-care centre teachers, for 15 years has required all students to take first-aid courses. Dov Sylvestri, head of the college, says that the course is a full seven days and is run by Magen David Adom.

Na'amit, which has its own chain of day-care centres, says some staffers take courses, but not all learn what to do in case of choking.
The Histadrut's Kupat Holim Chai health fund several years ago produced a public service TV announcement telling parents not to let children near six cat sunflower seeds or any other small, hard bits of food. But it has never produced an announcement on what to do if children choke, or explained Heimlich's Maneuver in booklets for its members. No comment could be obtained this week on what, if anything, the health fund intends to do in response to the Gilo death.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices:

General Share Index	120.15+0.92%
Non-Bank Index	153.00+0.04%
Arrangement	104.25+0.23%
Insurance	179.06+0.49%
Commerce, Services	221.94+1.35%
Real Estate	199.19+1.49%
Industrials	141.09+0.30%
Tonities	201.42+0.56%
Metals	148.21+2.50%
Electronics	98.08+1.34%
Chemicals	132.85+0.03%
Industrial Invest.	135.05+1.40%
Investment Cos.	148.13+1.06%
General Bond Index	112.29+0.10%
Index-linked Bonds	114.07+0.28%
Fully-linked	115.97+0.28%
Partially-linked	112.99+0.28%
Dollar-linked Bonds	111.76+0.03%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	110.80+0.39%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	111.58+0.18%
Long-term 5+ yrs	108.12+0.23%

Turnovers:

Shares—total	NIS 10,985,200
Arrangement	NIS 1,286,400
Non-bank	NIS 9,299,800
Bonds—total	NIS 6,996,800
Index-linked	NIS 6,012,400
Dollar-linked	NIS 384,500
Treasury Bills	NIS 2,802,500

Share Movements:

Advances	184 (189)
of which 5%+	26 (31)
"buyers only"	1 (1)
Declines	79 (70)
of which 5%+	7 (7)
"sellers only"	1 (0)
Unchanged	117 (117)
Trading Halt	42 (46)

Bond Market Trends:

Index-linked	Stable
3% fully-linked	Stable/falls to 0.5%

4.25% fully-linked

80% linked	Mixed to 1%
Double-linked	Stable/falls to 0.5%
Dollar-linked:	Mixed to 0.5%
Admon	Falls slightly
Bimot	Falls to 1%
Gilboa	Rises to 0.5%
For Curr. denominated Treasury Bills (annual yield)	15.55-21.00%

Arrangement yields:

(annual yield)	19.55-21.00%
Arrangement yields:	
IDB ord.	16.58%
Union 0.1	16.35%
Discount A	16.30%
Mizrahi r.	16.44%
Hapoalim r.	16.42%
General A	16.39%
Leumi stock	16.45%
Fin. Trade 1	16.34%

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An exercise in futility

SETTING themselves up as the right interpreters of the country's constitutional law, a few score left-wing Israelis are planning to defy the authorities by travelling to Bucharest sometime next week at the invitation – apparently initiated by themselves – of Romania's president, Nicolae Ceaucescu, to meet with a group of PLO officials and functionaries. The Israeli contingent is to consist of both Jews and Arabs, and it was to include anti-Zionists along with members of the Zionist Mapam.

It is to the credit of Mapam that it yesterday resolutely dissociated itself from this scheduled conclave, calling on any of its members who had meant to participate, to stay home.

Mapam's executive committee was silent on the organizers' avowed purpose to revive the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue for peace. It focussed on the seemingly incidental intention to cock a snook at the new law which totally bans precisely such unauthorized meetings with the terrorist PLO. The party, so the executive committee stated, will continue to seek the repeal of the law, but not by putting it to a court test, that is by means which amount to deliberate civil disobedience.

So far, so good. But the real question about this latest branch of the Israel-Palestine Peace Council is not legal but strictly political. It is whether the meeting in Bucharest – assuming it is held despite the attorney-general's threat of prosecution for its Israeli participants – will advance or hinder the prospects of an agreed solution to the Palestinian problem within the context of an Arab-Israeli peace.

The answer, alas, is all too obvious. Next week's Israeli and Palestinian – especially Israeli – conferees in Bucharest will in no sense be comparable to the Israeli and Egyptian leaders whom Mr. Ceaucescu got together back in 1977. Whether the PLO is the true representative of the Palestinian people is a matter for debate. That Rakah and the Progressive List for Peace represent, besides a large number of Israeli Arabs, only the tiniest handful of Jews requires no demonstration.

That tiny handful would, for the sake of peace, have the IDF withdraw all the way to the 1949 armistice lines, leaving the West Bank and the Gaza Strip – including East Jerusalem – to be constituted as an independent Palestinian state under PLO leadership.

This is the sort of political settlement that will be spurned not only by Greater Eretz Israel loyalists but also by most Israelis who do not view the armistice lines as "the lines of Auschwitz." The argument that those lines – which the Arab states never until 1967 recognized as politically binding – are now binding on Israel, is the sheerest impertinence, whatever its source.

But is there even the slightest indication that the PLO will, in return for an independent state within those lines, accept them as the final lines of peace? That it will, in other words, endorse Resolution 242 even in the standard Arab interpretation?

Instead of rushing to Bucharest, the members of the Israeli contingent who remain on it after Mapam's secession might usefully peruse the text of an interview published in *The Jerusalem Post* on September 10 with Paul Ajlouny, the owner and publisher of the East Jerusalem daily *Al Fajr*. Mr. Ajlouny is a moderate – an exceedingly moderate – representative of the PLO "mainstream." He is no rejectionist. He abhors terrorism. He will accept a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

But only as "an interim solution," and only because "At the moment, that's the only thing available." Mr. Ajlouny's – like Yasser Arafat's – "ultimate" solution is the substitution for Israel of a "democratic and secular" state of Palestine. True, that state of Palestine will be demilitarized – presumably as a hedge against the Jews taking up arms to assert themselves again. Its peace will presumably be safeguarded by the surrounding well-armed Arab states.

This unfortunately is the voice of PLO "moderation" today, and nothing better need be expected to be heard from the Palestinian side in Bucharest. Which is why the looming "dialogue" will at best be an exercise in futility.

SETTLERS

(Continued from Page One)
northwest of Jerusalem and also just over the old border, 250 villas cover the hillside, most still under construction. Twenty-five families have moved in since spring of this year.

The other settlements are:
• Nahliel, northwest of Ramallah. Planned as a Nahal base, it was declared a civilian settlement days before the July 1984 elections. In October of that year 10 families moved in; eight remain.
• Etz Ephraim, about 5 kilometres east of Oranit. The first family arrived in January 1985. Eight families are now living at the site. Settlers said 300-400 lots had been sold for houses.

• Hashmona'im, east of Lod. Six families moved to the site in March 1985, and nine are now living there. Settlement organizers say several hundred lots have been sold for villas and duplexes.

Benvenisti said the IDF figures showed that two more settlements had been populated under the Peres government – Gintot Shomron in Samaria and Karnei Tzur between Bethlehem and Hebron. Benny Kat-zover, the head of the Samaria regional council, confirmed that Gintot Shomron had been settled in the last year and a half, but said it was legally part of the existing Karnei Shomron. Karnei Tzur settlers said they had lived in tents at the site during the

spring of 1984 and had then left the site, returning in December 1984 when their houses were completed.

The unitary government has established Maski'ot and Beit Ha'arava in the Jordan Rift, Migdalim in Samaria, and Hadar Betar, south of Jerusalem. (Another settlement, Ne'ot Adumim in the Judean Desert, was officially set up by the unitary government, though settlers were living there in tents before the government took office.)

The coalition agreement allows for expansion of existing settlements in the territories. But it requires cabinet approval for any new settlements, even if they had been approved by the previous government.

In practice this has meant that few new settlements have been approved. But settlements considered to have existed before September 1984 – even if they were not yet populated – have been free to grow.

While the population of settlements near Tel Aviv and Jerusalem has increased rapidly, settlements in the Jordan Rift lost over 500 residents between November 1984 and June 1986, according to the IDF figures. These settlements included the veteran "Allon Plan" communities set up by Labour-led governments.

COMMONWEALTH REMEMBRANCE DAY 1986

The Annual Service of Remembrance in memory of those who gave their lives in both World Wars will be held at the Commonwealth War Cemetery at Ramla at 9:30 a.m. on Sunday, November 9, 1986.

Those intending to attend the Service are asked to be at the Cemetery in good time in order to be seated before the Service begins.

GIVE SOLDIERS LIFTS

Who gave Hindawi the order?

Yehuda Litani

"THE BRITISH-Zionist-American alliance is now actively distorting Syria's reputation... in preparation for joint aggression against it on the pretext of combating terrorism," the Syrian government newspaper *Tishrin* said on Wednesday. Not only the official *Tishrin* but all other Syrian newspapers have accused Britain this week of preparing to launch a campaign of aggression against Damascus in collaboration with the United States and Israel.

Such accusations, especially this week, are no doubt connected with the 30th anniversary of the 1956 Suez Campaign – a joint operation by Britain, France and Israel against Egypt. According to the Syrian media, the Americans are now replacing the French in a new campaign against Syria, while Syria replaces Egypt as the leading Arab country struggling against "Zionism and imperialism" in the Middle East.

As in many other dictatorships, all branches of the Syrian media back the government. No journalist or politician would dare to ask who gave the order to try to place a bomb in the El Al plane in London. Nor would anyone in Syria admit openly

EVEN IF all this is true, the present regime in Damascus would never allow a Syrian version of the "Lavon affair" to develop. Not too much is known about the inner circle of government in Syria, but experts have no doubt that as soon as Hindawi was arrested in London, extensive investigations began in Damascus to find out who gave the order.

Probably it was given by General Mohammed al-Khouli, the head of Air Force intelligence, who is regarded by many experts as the No. 2 man in the present regime. Al-Khouli, a close friend of Assad (they served together in the Air Force when Assad was its commander), himself an Alawite, controls every take-off and landing of every aircraft in the Syrian Air Force. Without his clearance, no aircraft – even Assad's own plane – can leave the ground.

Whether the order to Hindawi was a mistake, a misinterpretation of President Assad's general instructions, or part of an internal struggle of the intelligence agencies, the use of terrorism has become accepted by Syrian politicians and security men as a means of achieving their goals. Not only inside Syria and in Lebanon, but against rival countries such as Iraq, Jordan and, of course, Israel.

Damascus has always been the centre of militant rejectionist Palestinian groups such as the DFLP, PFLP, Abu Nidal and Abu Mussa, among others. These organizations, besides having their haven there, are instructed and financed by the Syrian Army.

THE SYRIAN authorities learnt, a long time ago, that the sword of terror is double-edged, and that the more one uses it, the more it is used against oneself, sometimes with even greater intensity.

The rapid deterioration of Syria's economy has spurred the recruitment of members to the Moslem Brotherhood. This movement, like other internal rivals of the Ba'ath regime, uses terrorism as its main weapon against the government.

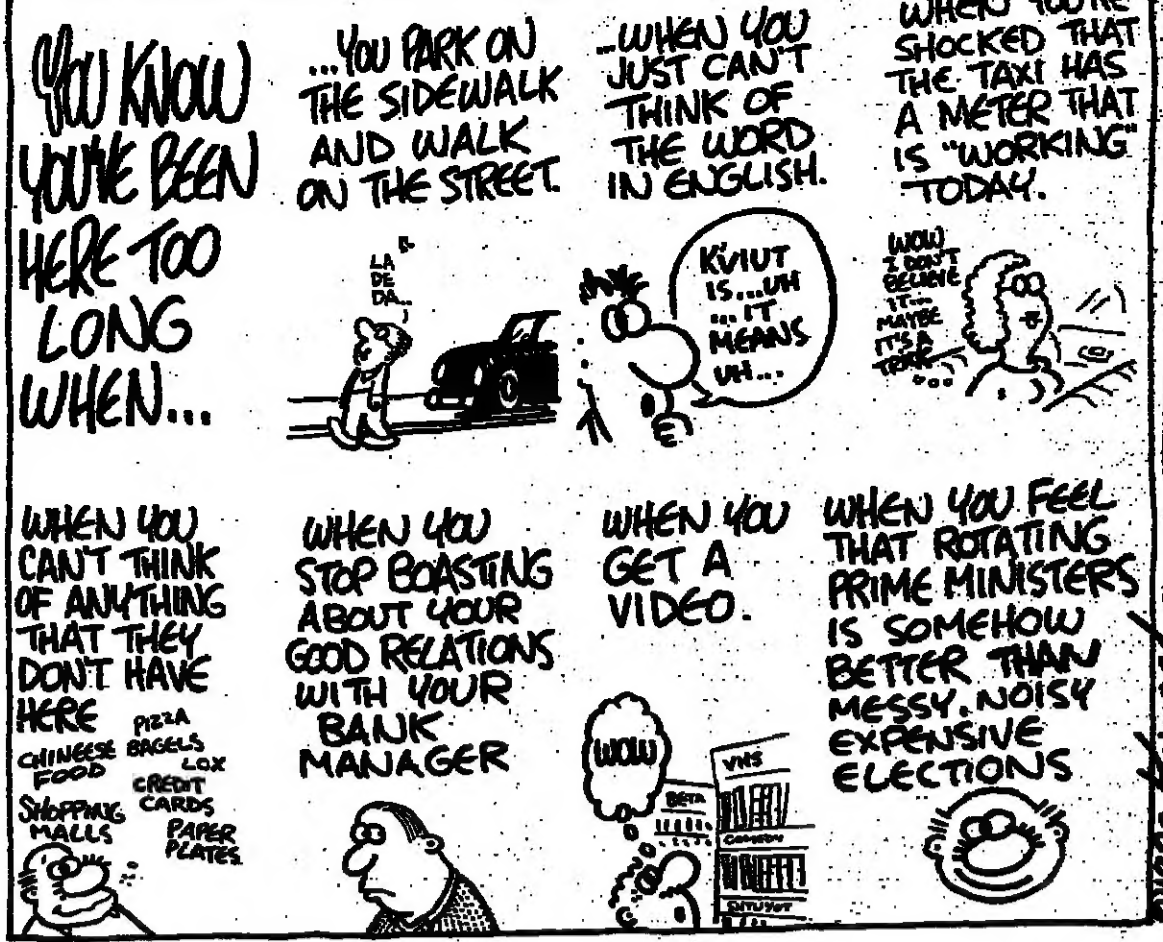
During the last two years, there have been a number of anti-government terrorist acts, especially against the army, causing serious concern for the regime's stability.

A WESTERN diplomat who spent several years in Damascus said recently that even if the present regime were to be overthrown (whether because of the economic situation, the accretion of strength by the opposition, or Hafez Assad's poor health), the deep animosity towards Israel and Zionism would remain. This animosity is more deeply rooted in all sections of Syrian society, the diplomat said, than in any other Arab country in the region, and any successor to Assad would have to maintain the same, or almost the same, line against Israel.

It would seem that the Syrian government has not learned its lesson from the Hindawi case. The semi-official Syrian newspaper *Al-Thawra* said on Wednesday that "should the British government continue to escalate its false and hostile campaign against Syria, British interests in the Middle East will inevitably be at stake, and Britain will have to pay a high price for its collusion with the U.S. and Israel." The "high price" being achieved, no doubt, by terrorism. How else?

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Middle East Affairs editor.

The Friday Dry-Bones



READERS' LETTERS

BEZEK FIASCO

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, – I refer to A. Raban's letter of October 7 about the recent disconnection of Jerusalem telephones.

First and foremost, all those who complain about their telephones having been disconnected should remember that they received a service and did not pay for it. Some people waited in line for an hour or two whereas Bezek waited for its money at least 1,000 hours. The simplest way to avoid having one's telephone disconnected is to pay on time.

In the past, Bezek used to send reminders to subscribers who had not paid their bills. But the experience boomeranged and many people completely ignored telephone bills on the assumption that they had nothing to worry about until a reminder arrived.

Bezek has drawn a number of conclusions from what happened on

this occasion. In the future, reminders will again be sent about long overdue bills. Current telephone bills will include details of unpaid bills. Disconnection will be carried out individually and not in large numbers at one time.

Bezek is planning to have cashiers in its business offices, so that subscribers will not have to go to two different places to effect payment.

Bezek will also accept telephone notification from the subscriber that he has paid his debt, if he includes details of the bank receipt. The telephone bill will be reconnected on the basis of this notification, so that the subscriber will not have to go once again to our office.

Bezek apologizes to its subscribers for the inconvenience caused them. Z. MIZROTSKY, Bezek Spokesman

Jerusalem.

MANCUNIAN EVENING

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, – Many people, although living in Israel, still have an interest in the "old country." Therefore, Hithabdt Olei Britannia decided to organize reunions of immigrants from England. As I am from Leeds, and had a ready-made "Leeds" list available because of my work, we began with a reunion of olim from Leeds.

The function took place last month and we had people attending who had made aliya in the 1940s right through the years to include people who arrived in Israel only a

WIESEL'S MESSAGE.

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, – As a concerned Holocaust survivor, I believe that Caleb Ben-David misunderstands Eli Wiesel's important message ("Perspective on an eloquent witness," October 21). Indeed, Wiesel did "raise the general awareness of the Holocaust throughout the world" and seems "to personify the conscience of humanity in regard to the six millions." Yet, he does not focus on the past alone, but passionately uses it, demonstrating how this terrible past was but a result of intolerance, racism, causeless hatred, and their most efficient servant, indifference.

Wiesel treats the past as a means to build a better world. This, and not just focusing on what happened 40 years ago, is Wiesel's message. On *Mabur*, the day he was awarded the Nobel Prize, he spoke about the wars and horrors of here and now, and about our ability to be concerned about it. This is truly "looking towards the future."

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Middle East Affairs editor.

few weeks ago. More than 180 people attended, renewed old acquaintances, and listened to the guest speaker, Geoffrey Wigoder.

The evening was so successful that we intend to organize similar functions for other areas of Britain. Hopefully, the next reunion will be for immigrants from Manchester and will again be organized by H.O.I.

Anyone who is willing to help or would simply like to attend should contact me at home (tel. 052-453313) or at work (tel. 03-474148).

RAY FISHER

Ramat Hasharon.

GUARDING TRUTH

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, – Bernard Kalb left the U.S. Administration in protest against distorting information in connection with the U.S. fight against Gaddafi's support of terrorism. Churchill expressed himself very clearly on the subject and he would have supported the U.S. Administration's point of view. His words were: "The truth must be protected by a body-guard of lies."

Doesn't the same apply to our handling of the GSS affair?

E. VALFER

Haifa.

WRONG CENTURY

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post* Sir, – Your review of "Moral madness," October 17, says Von Kleist wrote *Michael Kohlhaas* in the 17th century. He could hardly have done so, since he lived from 1771 to 1811.

CHARLOTTE PINKUS

Haifa.

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This Program has been designed to satisfy the needs of individuals who find it difficult to pursue regularly scheduled full-time or part-time studies. Concentrated Program students are required to be present on campus only one day each week and have the opportunity of taking two courses scheduled during the day. By enrolling in the Concentrated Part-Time Program of instruction, students may complete degree requirements in two calendar years. Program information concerning admission requirements, fees, course schedules and application procedures may be obtained by writing or calling:
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